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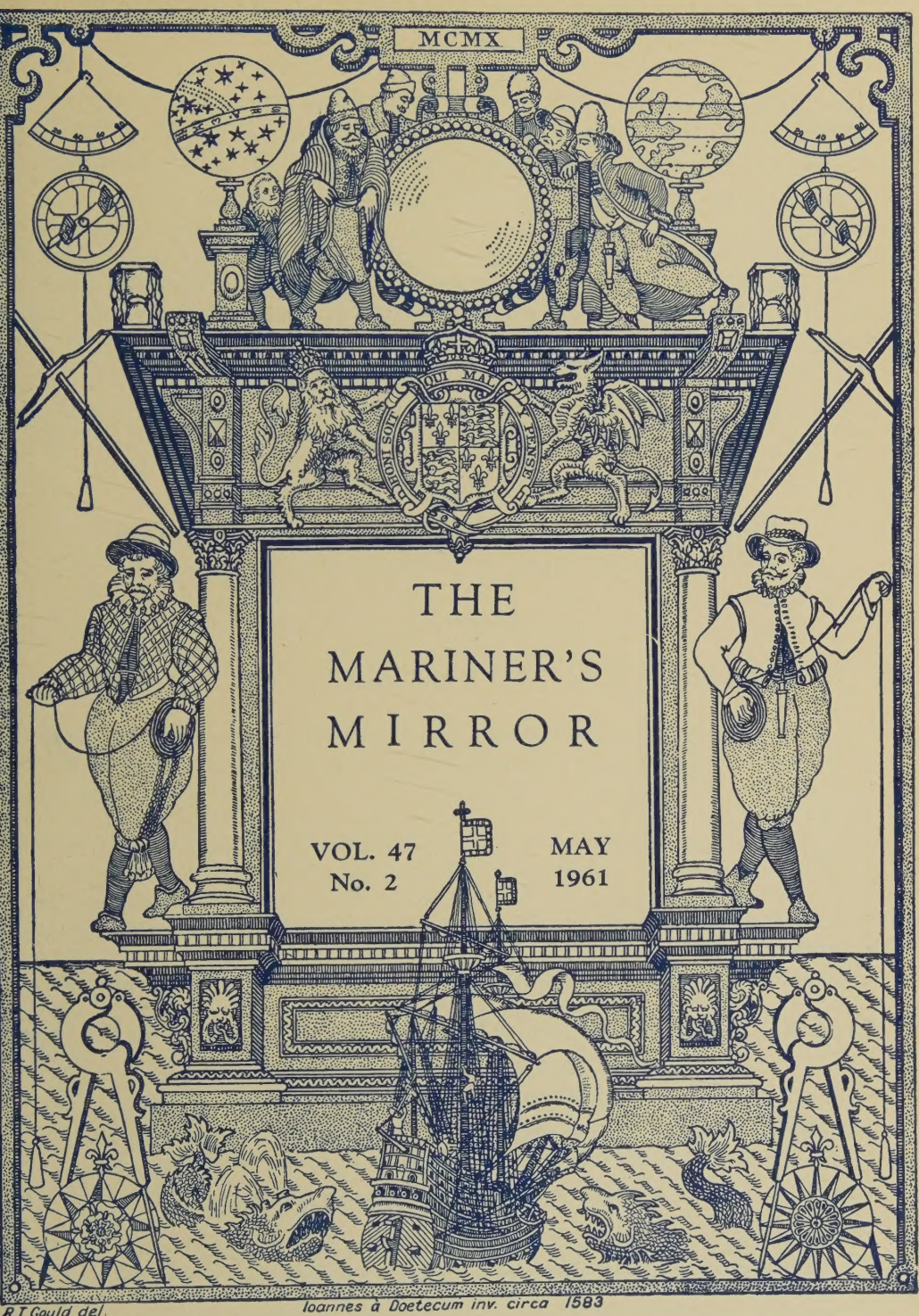

THE MARINER'S MIRROR

VOL. 47 No. 2 MAY 1961

R.T.Gould del. Ioannes à Doetecum inv. circa 1583

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Names of ships should be underlined to denote *italics*, and not written within inverted commas.

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The MARINER'S MIRROR

VOL. 47. NO. 2 MAY 1961

CONTENTS

PAGE

ARTICLES

The Woolwich Ship. *By W. Salisbury* 81

The Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts. *By Ernest S. Dodge* . 90

The Square-tuck Stern and the Gun-deck. *By L. G. C. Laughton* . . 100

The Barquentine *Raymond* and her Owner-master. *By James Murdoch* . 105

Recruitment of British Personnel for the Russian Service 1734–1738. *By R. J. Morda Evans* 126

NOTES

Trial of Sailing—Henry Stradling and Richard Blyth, Junior—The Loss of the *São Francisco*—Polacres yet Again—The Wreck of the *Loo*—Robert Dudley Books and Manuscripts owned by John Temple Leader—Captain William Thomas, a Naval Captain of the English Civil War—A Forgotten Naval Battle—A Matter of Criticism—Note on 'Barrow Flats' . . 138

QUERIES

An Obscure Object—Meaning of 'Skybar'—First Yacht Voyage Across the Atlantic—First Solo Trans-Atlantic Crossing 151

ANSWERS

Monk's 'Left Wheel'—International Code Flags—Commissions in the Royal Navy —Johannes Specht 152

REVIEWS

Forum Navale, No. 16—British Naval Dress—Tramp Shipping—British Shipping—Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heeren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Deel 1, 1610–1638—A Biography of the Sea—Last of the Sailormen—Four Centuries of Sea Plays (1550–1950)—Admiralty House: Whitehall—De la Marina de Antaño: Notas para la Historia de Menorca (1769–1905)—Apuntes para la Historia Maritima de Ibiza—Aportación de los Españoles al Conocimiento de la Ciencia Nautica 1801–1950—Cherish the Sea. A History of Sail 154

OBITUARY

Capitaine de Corvette de Reserve Louis Guilleux 160

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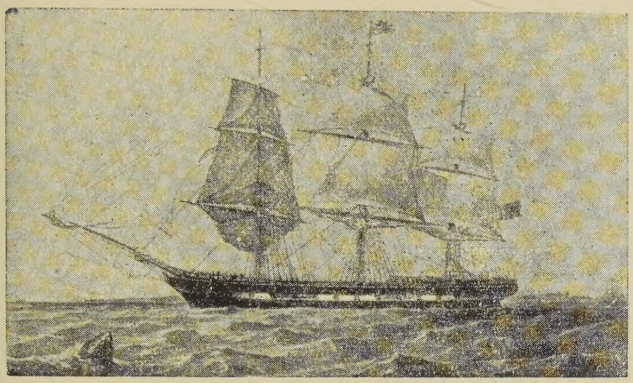

The Blackwaller *Windsor Castle* leaving Bombay 1859

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EDITED BY

W. SALISBURY

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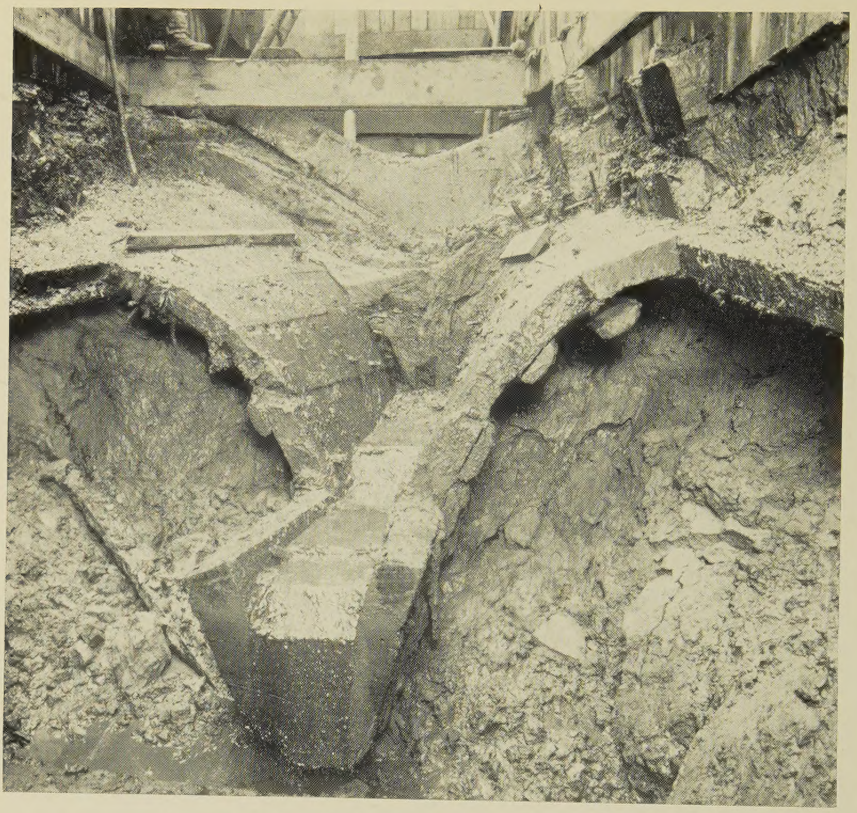


The Woolwich Ship. South end. (Photo. 5128c).

The Woolwich Ship. North end. (Photo. 51251c).

The MARINER'S MIRROR
WHEREIN MAY BE DISCOVERED HIS
ART, CRAFT & MYSTERY
after the manner of their use in all ages and among all Nations

VOL. 47. NO. 2 1961

THE WOOLWICH SHIP

By W. Salisbury

THE story of the wreck unearthed at Woolwich in 1912 has been told by Dr R. C. Anderson in the *M.M.* of May 1959. The discovery was dogged by ill luck from the very beginning. First, Sir William White was unable to see some of the more interesting features when he visited the wreck and gave as his opinion that the ship belonged to the middle of the eighteenth century, and most unfortunately he died shortly before he had intended to visit the ship a second time in February 1913. This opinion from an authoritative source nipped any public enquiry in the bud, and it was twelve months before the subject was taken up in the press. Even then, most of the many letters printed in the public newspapers tended to ignore facts connected with the wreck itself, and it is not possible to glean much of actual value from the various communications. When at last an Admiralty Committee was appointed in March 1914 the scent was already cold. The dismembered timbers still lay on the wharf, but these had not been examined in detail when war broke out in the following August, and by 1918 all physical evidence of the wreck—apart from some scraps of timber and a few stone shot—had disappeared.

Most fortunately, however, the discovery of the wreck came soon after the finding of the Roman ship on the site of County Hall, and during the course of the excavations at Woolwich the L.C.C. took a series of photographs of the wreck *in situ*, and their surveyors made notes and later

prepared drawings for the use of both Sir William White and, later, of the Admiralty Committee. These photographs and drawings still exist, and by the courtesy of the L.C.C. have been made available for the present article. As Dr Anderson has related, the only parts of the Admiralty Committee's report which were completed dealt with the historical aspects of the site and of ship design and construction generally. We still have, however, all the information (with the notable exception of the actual timbers) relating to the wreck which was available to the Committee in 1914. I propose to give a résumé of this information under the headings of: The Site, Observers' Comments, The L.C.C. Files, and the L.C.C. Drawings.

The site

It was at first thought that the wreck lay in the remains of a dock. No trace, however, of walls or a solid floor was found, and references to a brick wall on one side of the wreck probably refer to the east wall of the dry dock of the Woolwich Steam Packet Company, which was also demolished during the excavations. Since his article in 1959 Dr Anderson has obtained a copy of the draft report on the site which was to form Part 1 of the Committee's Report. This report goes into the history of the site in detail, but failed to find any evidence of a dock or inlet at this point. The site had probably formed part of an ordnance wharf from the latter part of Elizabeth's reign until 1671, when it was sold by the Crown. There was no trace of an extension of the wharves northwards which might have covered a wreck lying on the foreshore. It appears, however, that the Committee had consulted the secretary of the Geologist's Association of London, and that it was thought that the wreck lay in what had been a partly natural and partly artificial inlet. The keel rested on clean river gravel partly covered with a deposit of silt.

Observers' comments

As has been mentioned earlier, little can be gathered from the letters written to the press. Several stone shot were found, of $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 12 inches in diameter. Some fragments of pottery were taken out of the hold, and were described by one correspondent as spotted or tiger ware which might date from 1535 onwards. Several, however, commented on the use of treenails and the absence of metal fastenings, and many stated that there was no trace of burnt timber. In view of the efforts then being made to connect the wreck with the *Great Harry* there can be no doubt but that this latter point was thoroughly investigated.

The L.C.C. files

In addition to copies of correspondence and minutes, the files contain some valuable notes and reports made by the Council's surveyor. The earliest is dated 15 November 1912, and states that Sir William White had seen the wreck and that photographs and drawings were being prepared. The wreck was said to lie about 18 feet below the surface and about 6 feet below high-water level. In December a plan of the first portion uncovered was sent to Sir William, and on the 17th a further report was made by the surveyor. This stated that another 25–30 feet had been uncovered along the centre, and that 'towards the bows are other substantial constructions, and I was told a mast was found standing there. . . the part which has been measured is being broken up'. The architect visited the site on 6 January 1913, and further measurements were taken. The last report by the surveyor is dated 29 March 1913, and said that another large portion was fully exposed, and that measurements and photographs should be taken. Five stone cannon balls had now been found in the wreck, and one outside. Finally, on 2 January 1914, copies of the various plans were deposited with the Admiralty Library.

The various photographs in the L.C.C. files are as follows:

5002c. Dated 13/11/1912 5003c. Dated 13/11/1912	Show the area around the mast when first excavated
5104c. Dated 19/12/1912	Shows the timbers around section *E–F*, when first uncovered
5125c. Dated 2/1/1913	The northern end of the wreck at section *J–K*
5128c. Dated 10/1/1913	The southern end of the wreck, partly broken up

Three small photographs, undated, show the area around the mast whilst being broken up. It does not appear that any photographs were taken after March, when the part of the wreck around section *L–M* was probably uncovered.

The L.C.C. drawings

These furnish by far the most valuable record of the wreck, and gain in value from the fact that they were not made by naval architects and are therefore relatively free from anachronisms. It also means of course that some points which might have struck a naval architect as being unusual have been left unexplained and indefinite. It should, however, be remem-

bered that the finished drawings were prepared some time after the timbers had been removed, and are probably inaccurate in some details. It would, for instance, appear from the datum lines in the sections that the keel of the wreck lay quite level and quite straight. This is most unlikely, as the photographs show some hogging at the fore end of the keel, as might be expected, and in addition the Committee in 1914 were informed that the fore or southern end lay some 12 inches higher than the northern end. The datum lines do not therefore refer to a common level. Another point is that all the sections show the keel as being worn away under the garboards. This may have been the case with the first section drawn when the keel was cut in midships, but the only photograph giving a view of the lower part of the keel shows this to have been quite well preserved below the garboards.

The existing drawings are as follows:

A. The Plan prepared for Sir William White. This shows a plan of the first portion uncovered around the mast, together with a section which omitted details of the keel and chocks below the floor timber. This plan was later incorporated in the plan prepared for the Admiralty Committee.

B. The Plan prepared in 1914, Reference 10755 HR68. This must have been based on rough sketches and the plan described above. The middle portion of the plan shows little detail, and probably no drawings had been made before the timbers were removed.

C. The Sections prepared in 1914. Reference 10754 HR68. In so much as these show details of timbers not actually cut by the section lines, these are not true sections but rather sketches of the transverse construction. Other comments have already been made above.

D. A rough pencil drawing on tracing paper, giving a plan of the middle portion of the wreck before the area around section *L–M* had been exposed. This plan had apparently been made from measurements taken from the ends of the riders remaining in the sides of the cutting, and on the same paper are drawn profile sections of the timbers cut through along the line of the keel. Unfortunately the base-line of these profiles has been lost, and the stem and deadwood is not drawn in detail. This particular drawing was not apparently made use of by the Admiralty Committee.

For the purposes of this article drawings B and C have been redrawn without alteration, as the originals were not suitable for reproduction. A composite fore and aft section based on drawing D has been included, and this incorporates a fore and aft section of the after part of the wreck which has been reconstructed from the other drawings.

The general details of the wreck are quite unlike those of any ship built in England from the seventeenth century onwards, and it may be as well to say at this stage that the nearest parallels are to be found in the wreck of the *Grace Dieu* of 1418, which was described by Dr Anderson in the *M.M.* in April 1934. The similarity between the major features of the two wrecks is remarkable.

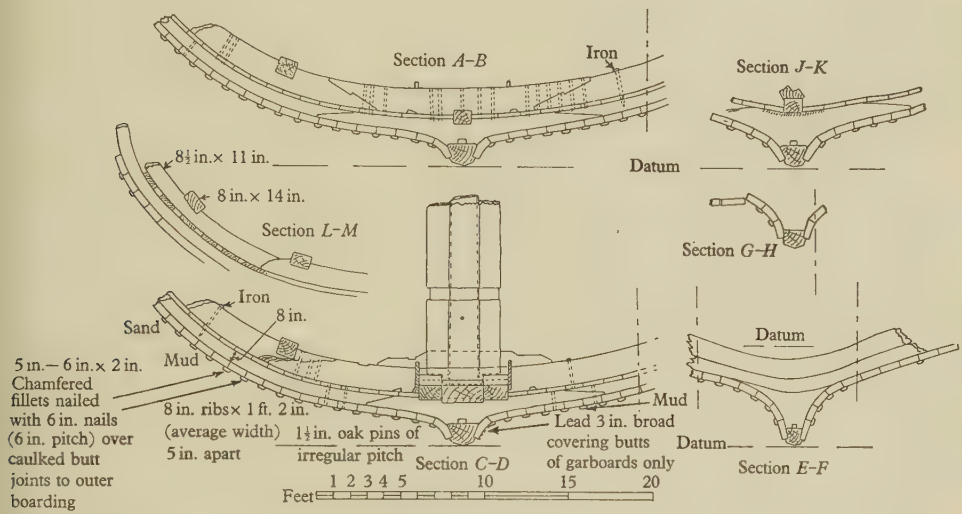


Fig. 1. Remains of ship exposed during excavations at Roff's Wharf, Woolwich.

The most obvious feature of the wreck was the remains of the mast, consisting of a spindle of pine surrounded by baulks of oak and bound together with iron bands. A similar construction is illustrated in Sutherland's *Shipbuilding Unveiled* of 1717, but was abandoned soon after that date, and exactly the same materials and construction was specified in the contracts for the large ships built in 1590. The total diameter of the mast was 4 feet 4 inches, much larger than a seventeenth-century mast, and this probably indicates a relatively early date.

The mast step consists of a complicated assembly of timbers, but in effect the whole weight of the mast rests upon the keelson and on a short heavy fore and aft timber on each side. From about 1650 at the latest the step would consist of a heavy thwartship timber or timbers, but there is little information on the details of early mast steps in large ships.

The keelson is a comparatively light timber 9 inches deep and 13 inches wide. The plan does not show how far it extended forward, but the photographs prove that it did not reach to section *E–F*. Under the mast step

it is heavier, and becomes 12 inches deep and 26 inches wide. This thickening of the keelson at the step is last mentioned about 1625, but throughout the century the keelson would be a much heavier timber, more or less equal to the keel in section. The *Grace Dieu* also had a similar, but thinner, keelson, and this is remarkable in view of the fact that all of the ancient wrecks recovered at Kalmar had very heavy keelsons indeed.

The frame timbers are most interesting. They were 14 inches broad, 8 inches deep, and spaced 5 inches apart, the various pieces composing each frame being scarfed into one another with plain scarfs. They appear to be fastened together only by the treenails of the outside planking. This arrangement is exactly the same as that found in the *Grace Dieu*, and from 1600 onwards the floor timbers would be at least as deep as they were wide and be spaced far enough apart to allow the futtocks to run down between them. The photograph of the wreck at section *J–K* gives the solution. At this point free water has fortunately washed the floor timber clean, and on the port side can be seen unmistakable signs of the notches which would be cut in the frame of a clinker-built hull to fit over the lands of the planking. There can be little doubt but that the ship was originally clinker built, but that this planking had been stripped off, the notches in the timbers dubbed smooth, and carvel planking put on. This would also explain the small size of the timbers, whose depth is barely equal to the sum of the thicknesses of the inner and outer planking.

The wreck had a remarkable number of heavy riders lying against the ceiling, whose various pieces were in some cases connected by hook scarfs. The general impression given by the photographs is that the riders were in better condition than the timbers, and that they were added during a repair. This is particularly noticeable at the bow.

The stringers of the wreck are laid over the riders, and a similar construction is hinted at in the Contracts of 1590. From 1625 at least the stringers would be part of the thickstuff forming part of the ceiling, and the riders would be placed on top of all.

The ceiling in the midships had been partly ripped up before the drawings were made, and although it would appear from the sections that it was laid close in midships as far as the structure had survived, it is clear from the photographs that in fact it was laid close only as far as the first stringer, and that above that point every other strake was left open as was the case at section *L–M*. There is no trace of a ceiling at section *E–F*.

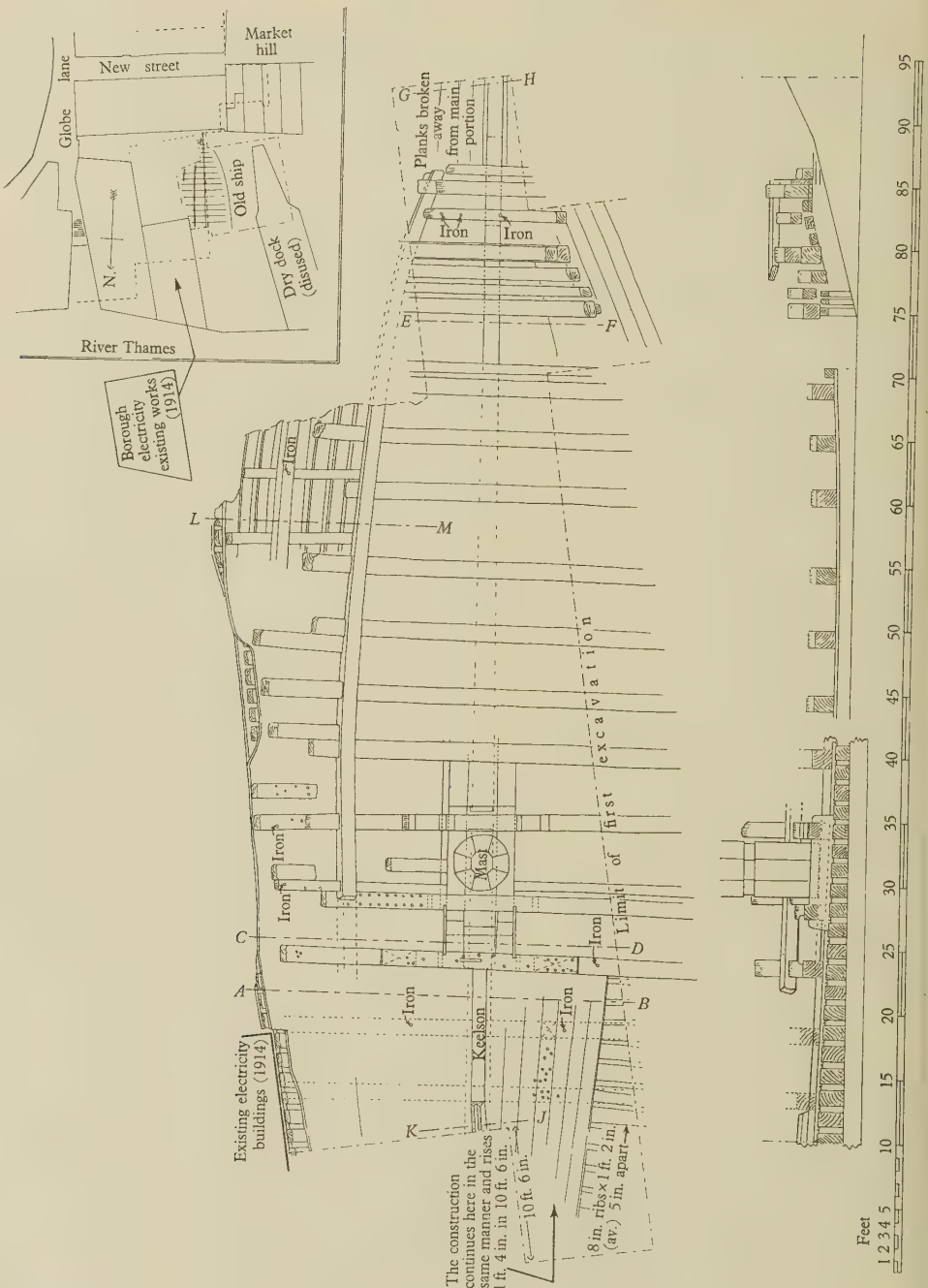
Seam ribbands of some kind may have been used at various dates in an endeavour to keep an old ship tight. When carvel building was first introduced in the northern countries, however, the art of caulking the seams must have presented novel difficulties until the shipwrights learnt exactly

what space should be left between the planks. (In the Italian arsenals the caulkers put on the planking and caulked the seams.) Several devices must have been tried, and the wreck of the Swedish *Elefanten* built in 1554 has battens between the frame timbers in the wake of the seams. These battens acted as stops for the caulking, but the seam battens of the Woolwich ship were probably meant to keep the caulking in the seams. These were caulked with pitch and oakum.

As has been mentioned earlier, most observers commented on the lack of metal fastenings. The drawings, however, make a point of noting the position of iron bolts, and it is significant that these occur mainly in the riders and in places which may have been repaired. It certainly appears from the photographs of the wreck that the riders, inner and outer planking and keel were in far better condition than the frame or floor timbers.

We now come to the dimensions of the wreck, and to try to estimate those of the original ship. At section *L–M* the breadth would be some 43 feet, and since there appears to be little distortion of the hull the over-all breadth at the midships must have been at least 45 feet. The length is more uncertain, but as the photograph of the bow timbers shows that the deadwood only commenced forward of section *E–F* we can assume that the touch of the stem could not have been farther aft than the heavy double rider which was placed some 5 feet forward of section *E–F*. (It is in this photograph that the free water or mud lying on the keel proves that there was some hogging at this point.) This assumed position of the touch is 48 feet from the step of the mast and 39 feet from the midship section indicated by the curve of the sleepers. Working from the proportions of the diagrams in Baker's *Fragments of Ancient Shipwrightry* of 1586, the keel of the Woolwich wreck would be some 112 or 119 feet in length, whilst on the basis of the *Grace Dieu* the keel would be 124 feet. On the whole, it seems that the keel must have been 115–120 feet in length.

In any event, it is clear that the wreck was that of a very large ship. This being the case, it should be borne in mind that the L.C.C. surveyor, who would be precise in matters connected with excavations near the river, stated that the wreck (he certainly referred to the keel) lay 6 feet below high-water mark and 18 feet below ground level. 'High-water mark' would be the 'Trinity high-water mark', or highest normal level of spring tides, although I am informed that the present level of the site is now about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet (instead of 12 feet) above this mark. Allowing for slight errors in the account, it is therefore certain that the ship drew at the most 9 feet of water, and probably 2 feet less, when she was floated into her last berth. This does not allow for her having settled into the mud in the course of


Market hill
New street
Globe lane
Old ship
Dry dock (disused)
N.
River Thames
Borough electricity existing works (1914)
Planks broken away from main portion
G
H
E
F
Iron
Iron
Iron
L
M
Iron
Iron
Mast
C
D
A
B
K
Iron
Iron
Keelson
Existing electricity buildings (1914)
Limit of first excavation
The construction continues here in the same manner and rises 1 ft. 4 in. in 10 ft. 6 in.
10 ft. 6 in.
8 in. ribs × 1 ft. 2 in. (av.) 5 in. apart
Feet
1 2 3 4 5
10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95

ime, or for the unlikely possibility (in view of the lack of ways beneath ıer) that she was *hauled* up.

This being so, it is remarkable that so large a ship, built of old and water-soaked oak and having very sharp sections, should draw so little water. One would think that such a ship with her mast standing would require some ballast, but none was noted when she was found. In any event, early large ships always seem to have had their masts unstepped before they were docked. On the whole, it may fairly be assumed that she was a comparatively shallow vessel, that her upperworks were either very slight or partly dismantled, and that even if her mast was broken off to a mere stump it was supported by at least one deck and partners. She could not have been laid up with the intention of breaking her up, as the first thing to be done would be to remove her mast. Neither could it have been intended to repair her if this entailed increasing her weight, or she could not have been refloated. Whatever the truth of the matter, her deck could not have been removed until the hold had thoroughly silted up, or the mast (or what remained of it) would have fallen. I think the indications are that an old ship, probably suffering from extensive damage, was cleared of lumber and laid on the shore in a convenient place in order to make a survey as to the practicability of rebuilding her. In view of her obsolete construction a decision was delayed until it was not worth either repairing or removing her for breaking up. In time, her berth silted up level with high water mark and the timbers still exposed were either removed or rotted away.

There is no reason to think that the ship was not English in origin, and all the details of her construction date her to the first half of the sixteenth century. There are several possible candidates in the English fleet of that period. The *Great Harry* was burnt at Woolwich in 1553. If we could assume that she was burnt afloat and scuttled so that her upperworks and masts were destroyed; that she was raised, cleared of debris, and laid ashore for survey; that her body was far sharper than that of 'great ships' either before or after her time; and that she had been converted from clinker to carvel build, the identification might be possible. It must, however, be remembered that no trace of fire was found in or around the wreck. Another possibility is the *Great Galley*, which was built in 1515, rebuilt in 1523 and 1536–37, and which disappears from the records between 1562 and 1565. She must have been a long vessel, and we do know that during her first rebuild she was converted from clinker to carvel build (*M.M.* September 1920). The sharp lines of the wreck certainly indicate a vessel built for rowing rather than a heavy 'great ship', and this together with the traces of clinker planking is strong evidence in favour of such an identification.

Dr Anderson has however drawn my attention to a third ship whose fate is uncertain. This is the *Sovereign*, built in 1488 and rebuilt in 1509–10. In 1521 she was reported to be lying in 'a dock at Woolwich', and was in such a state that 'she must be new made from the keel upwards'. There is no mention of her after this date, but she was at least in a dock at Woolwich when she was declared unseaworthy. What is even more significant is the fact that her repair was urged because 'the form of which ship is so marvellously goodly that great pity it were she should die'. Such a reputation would explain two of the most puzzling features of the wreck; first, that during a very thorough rebuild the original frame timbers were allowed to remain; and secondly, that in spite of the quantity of sound timber in her bottom no attempt was made to break up the wreck before it had been covered by silt. Unless new facts and knowledge of individual ships come to light, I feel that the Woolwich wreck can be identified with the *Sovereign* more satisfactorily than with any other ship.

The extent of the excavations in 1912–13 is indicated on the site plan by a dot-and-dash line. Quite recently, further extensions to the Power Station have been made, and the present extent of the buildings is marked by a dotted line. I am indebted to the Town Clerk and Borough Engineer of Woolwich for this information. Although these later excavations must have cut into the wreck its existence had been forgotten and an excellent opportunity for examining the timbers has been lost. It is to be hoped that if a similar opportunity occurs in the future a proper investigation will at last be made.

THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

By Ernest S. Dodge

WHEN the Salem East India Marine Society was organized in August 1799 it had three purposes. The first was to give benefits to widows and children of deceased members. The second was to collect such facts and observations as tend to the improvement of navigation in the waters of the world. The third was 'to form a museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn'. This museum, now 161 years old, is today the Peabody Museum of Salem.

The Peabody Museum of Salem. Essex Street façade.

The Peabody Museum of Salem. East India Marine Hall.

(*Facing p.* 90)

To my knowledge, this was the only marine society, and most of the Atlantic ports of the United States had one, to establish a museum as one of its original intentions. It was a unique function for such an organization, but the organization itself was unique. No other marine society ever placed such restrictions on its qualifications for membership. There were plenty of seafaring men in Salem in 1799, but few of them, indeed, could meet the limitations of the new society. Twenty-two mariners met and signed the agreement on 31 August. No such stringent restrictions hampered membership in the Salem Marine Society, which had been founded in 1766. It was only necessary to be a Salem resident and a captain to belong to the older organization. Membership in the East India was confined to Salem men who had sailed as captains or supercargoes of Salem ships beyond Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. Only thirteen years before Elias Hasket Derby's ship *Grand Turk* had been the first Salem and third American vessel to reach China, so those eligible for membership in the new society were a small and select company; the equivalent of a Caterpillar Club in the 1920's before parachuting became commonplace.

Thus, in a day when New Englanders were widely travelled, and in the town which boasted the greatest seafaring tradition and enterprise of them all, here were the men who had sailed the farthest and seen the most exotic lands. Wherever they went—to China, Mocha, Zanzibar, the East Indies or the South Seas—they brought back strange mementoes of their voyages. Thus, while it would have been superfluous for an ordinary marine society to establish a museum, it was a perfectly logical thing for the East India Marine Society to do so as one of its original objects.

The second meeting of the society was held in October, and Captain Jonathan Carnes brought in the first accession for the new museum—an elephant's tooth, a Battak pipe from Sumatra, an oyster growing from a clay pipe, and a goblet made from a rhinoceros horn. This first gift to the museum is still on exhibition today, and the trickle of specimens commenced that autumn evening by Captain Carnes became a flood that has never ceased. The public has been admitted continuously without charge since 1799, although in the early years it was required that a person wishing to visit the museum obtain a ticket from a member.

In 1949 Walter Muir Whitehill, in the introduction to his sesquicentennial history of the museum wrote:[1]

> At first glance the founding of a museum hardly seems a likely activity for shipmasters, but the wealth of Salem came from the sea, and we are all acquainted with the human foible of wishing to be admired for irrelevant reasons. Who has not marked the smile of innocent gratification on the face of the clergyman when told that he should have been a lawyer? Who has not met the

1 Walter Muir Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1949), pp. vii–ix.

retired naval officer who takes pride in his roses, his water colors or his golf game, or the old soldier who fancies himself for his skill in writing light verse? For a brief golden age between the end of the Revolution and the beginning of Jefferson's embargo, the Salem shipmasters were thrice-happy. Essentially men of action, they had sailed their small vessels into far parts of the world with a daring and shrewdness not unworthy of Norse rovers or Elizabethan piratical seamen. Like their forerunners, these Yankee sailors were few of them scholars; indeed, some of them spelled like ill-taught schoolboys. It must then have been particularly satisfying to them to feel that, through their connection with the East India Marine Society and its Museum, they had at least scraped an acquaintance with the stay-at-home world of learning. And, lastly, by following the sea and doing what by experience they were best fitted for, they gained not only the approbation of polite and cultured landsmen, but the blessing of the Almighty Himself. The god of winds and waters prospered their voyages, and made shipmasters well-to-do.

In 1824 the Society had prospered sufficiently and its membership increased to such an extent that they were able to build East India Marine Hall on Essex Street. This is still the main building of the Museum and its granite façade with the engraved inscriptions 'East India Marine Society', 'Oriental Insurance Company', and 'Asiatic Bank' lend an antique and exotic air to the modern city. The hall was dedicated by John Quincy Adams, President of the United States at the time, and over forty toasts were drunk on the occasion. In this hall the Marine Society members banqueted, held their meetings, and exhibited their 'natural and artificial curiosities' for the edification and amusement of themselves, their friends and the public. On occasion they dressed themselves up in Oriental costume and marched through the streets of Salem carrying some of their more spectacular trophies. The Museum was a gay and intriguing part of the community.

When Salem's sun had set and ships no longer sailed to the Far East, the members of the Society grew old and dwindled in their numbers. Certainly the Museum would have gone under after the Civil War had not George Peabody of London stepped into the breach with a little urging, and in 1867 provided the funds for taking over the handsome building of the East India Marine Society and its collections. Since that date the Museum has had its ups and downs but fortunately more of the former.

George Peabody, an international financier, while he lived most of his life in London, was born 18 February 1795 in South Danvers (now named Peabody in his honour), a neighbouring town to Salem. He was a self-made man and became America's first philanthropist. Besides the Salem museum he gave funds to establish museums at Harvard and Yale, libraries in Baltimore, Peabody and Danvers, and the George Peabody College for teachers in Nashville. In London he was instrumental in one of the first slum clearance projects and gave the Peabody Donation Fund to provide housing for the worthy poor. There is a statue of him outside the Royal Exchange in Threadneedle Street.

There have been renovations, reconstructions and additions to the Museum over the years. After the reorganization under the Peabody trust the name was changed to Peabody Academy of Science, as it was thought the institution would become a scientific school. The great hall of the Society was filled with a gallery which ran around three sides and down the centre. Both the gallery and the main floor were crammed with as many cases as they could possibly hold, and the cases were stuffed with a 'jittery miscellany of zoological objects', for this was the great day of the naturalist. Darwin, Huxley, and in America, Agassiz, were stimulating the public to collecting and studying everything that crawled, flew, or swam, and people were bounding about with the same agitation as the critters they studied. In 1889 a large building called East Hall was opened, with a lecture room downstairs and exhibits on the second floor and gallery. In 1907 Weld Hall was built, with new offices on the first floor and with Japanese and other Oriental exhibits on the second floor and gallery. In 1953 a wing containing the Loring Room for changing exhibitions on the first floor and the Francis B. Crowninshield Gallery on the second floor was added. In 1960 we dedicated a library wing containing a bookstack to hold about 100,000 volumes, office and working space, and a large and handsome reading room. As I write this article another wing is being constructed to be known as the Louise du Pont Crowninshield Memorial Gallery, together with an elevator, and a new heating plant. In 1940 the ugly galleries put into East Hall by the natural history enthusiasts were torn out and the hall restored to its early nineteenth century maritime splendour.

By 1915 it became obvious that the institution would never be a scientific school and so the name was changed to the more fitting Peabody Museum of Salem. Today its collections are divided amongst three rather closely linked, although apparently unrelated, departments—Ethnology, Natural History and Maritime History. The first and second of these departments grew directly from the two original purposes of the East India Marine Society to collect 'natural and artificial curiosities'. The third is based upon the activities of the Society and its members in wresting fortunes by sea from a reluctant world.

Museum fashions in collecting and the interests in the academic world tend to change just as do fashions in other walks of life. In general, the earliest things collected were just what they purported to be—curiosities. For besides bringing back material which has scientific or artistic merit at the present time, there was much of an odd or nondescript nature. The early catalogues abound with such things as 'a ball of hair from the stomach of a cow from Madagascar', and a similar specimen from a cow in South

Salem; a 'double-headed dog fish'; and "drawers worn by females in Lapland, made of the hair of reindeer'. There were also many relics, a class of objects now little regarded. Besides three pieces of Plymouth Rock, there were two bricks from the birthplace of Columbus at Genoa, a chip of 'the rock on which Captain Cook was killed', and a specimen of the rock on which General Wolfe died in 1759. There were likewise recorded fragments from the tombs of Demosthenes and Virgil and a 'piece of rock from the cave in which St Paul is supposed to have reposed at Malta'.

The enthusiasm for the study of natural history during the last half of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth centuries saw that department receive most of the attention and absorb nearly all of the funds of the institution. The cases built around East India Marine Hall and its galleries were crammed with a large synoptic collection of the plant and animal life of the world. All of the people connected with the Museum at that time were primarily naturalists. Gradually popular and scientific interests changed, and in 1940 it was decided to abandon the large synoptic collection because of the closeness of and the similarity to much better collections at Harvard and the Boston Society of Natural History (now the Boston Museum of Science). At this time East India Marine Hall was restored to its original glory; the galleries were torn out and the natural history collections moved downstairs and reduced to the natural history of Essex County, Massachusetts. A few important or spectacular individual specimens were kept and worked into special displays. These notable historic exceptions include the first penguin ever brought back to the United States and preserved. The poor old bird, a King Penguin, is an example of the crude taxidermy of an earlier day and is truly a horrible thing to behold. He is exhibited next to a superb example of an Emperor Penguin collected on one of Admiral Byrd's Antarctic expeditions. Another venerable bird is the red Malay Jungle Fowl from which all the Rhode Island Reds in the country are descended. It was imported from Java by Captain Richard Wheatland whose cousin used the bird for breeding purposes and developed the strain which eventually became our well-known Rhode Island Red hen. The giant Galapagos tortoises, one of which is on display, had more than a passing interest to sailors. Shipmasters, particularly whalers, loaded vast numbers of these turtles on board their ships. The tortoises lived for long periods of time without food and without water, their flesh was palatable and nourishing, helping to stave off scurvy even when badly cooked. The fat was used to shorten the 'duff' which the sailors so greatly enjoyed eating, and the water in their bladders was fresh and sweet.

The ethnology department had its beginning with the 'artificial curiosities' as they were called; those things made by the natives of far lands which the captains brought back to their wondering families and ultimately for their Museum. Here is where one finds the most extraordinary mixture of superlatively good and completely indifferent material in the early collections. For it very largely depended upon what region that a captain happened to visit, whether or not he collected something which today would be considered of scientific or artistic importance. Most of the things brought back from China, for example, were of a trade or souvenir nature even in the early nineteenth century. They were trinkets manufactured by a business-like Chinese, with an eye for good thing when he saw one, to sell to Europeans and Americans. China, was, of course, at that time, a highly civilized country with wealthy mandarins and merchants. These men had great discrimination and knowledge of their own art and collected the fine paintings, bronzes, and woodcarvings of their own culture. In China it was only rarely that a sailor man had the opportunity to collect something really good, even if he had possessed the knowledge and discrimination to do so.

But it was quite different among the Islands of the Pacific or on the Northwest Coast, for example. In those regions there were no highly sophisticated collectors but only simple natives living by their hunting and fishing, and primitive agricultural economies. In those regions too, at that date, anything the acquisitive captain picked up was important in the eyes of modern-day ethnology. It is for this reason that the Peabody Museum today has the finest collection of Polynesian material in North America. It includes such rarities as one of the three surviving great Hawaiian morai figures, the only known old decorated tapa cloth from the Austral Islands, the only known Hawaiian tattooing implements, two of the six known Marquesan Island toggle harpoon points, one of the three Mangaian chief's fans in the world, and many similar rarities from the South Seas.

The traders for sea otter skins on the Northwest Coast returned from China, where they traded their skins at a handsome profit for oriental goods, to Salem with some of the earliest known slate carvings from the Haida Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands. We also owe to them our possession of the oldest known Chilkat blanket in any collection, presented in 1821. Those sailors who went to the Maritime Provinces for lumber or fish as early as 1802 brought back with them canoe models made by the Micmac and Malicite Indians.

In the seventeenth century Japan had closed its doors to all westerners excepting the Dutch who were allowed to send one ship a year from Batavia to the trading post maintained by the Dutch East India Company on the

Island of Deshima in Nagasaki Harbour. When Napoleon overran Holland the Dutch vessels became prey of British cruisers and, consequently, the Company chartered American vessels to make the annual voyages. The first American vessel into Japan was the *Eliza* of New York in 1798. The second was the ship *Franklin* of Boston, commanded by Captain James Devereux of Salem. Another Boston ship, the *Massachusetts*, was third and the Museum has a journal kept by William Cleveland recording that voyage. The ship *Margaret* of Salem was the fourth vessel chartered by the Dutch, arriving in Nagasaki in 1802. The Museum owns an interesting collection of Japanese material, some of it made for export, brought back on the *Franklin* and *Margaret*, together with their log books. After the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry in 1858 there occurred, particularly in the Boston region, during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, a phenomenal interest in all things Japanese. At the height of this interest Professor Edward S. Morse, then Director of the Peabody Museum in Salem, went to Japan to found the first marine biological laboratory in that country and to teach marine biology at the University of Tokyo. While there, he became enamoured of Japanese culture and with the aid of his wealthy friend, Dr Charles G. Weld of Boston, accumulated what is today probably the finest collection in the world of Japanese material illustrating the culture of that people at that period. It is exhibited in Weld Hall along with the other collections from the Far East.

Thus, the two departments of Ethnology and Natural History are based on the maritime activities of the members of the East India Marine Society. Curiously enough the members of the Society did not make any vast collection of maritime material. They had a few important pieces, such as the model of the United States frigate *Constitution* given to them by Captain Isaac Hull in 1813, a large model of the Salem ship *Friendship* built on a voyage to Sumatra by the ship's carpenter, with cannon cast by the natives of Palembang, a few ship pictures and the abstracts of their journals which each member was obliged to keep and file with the Society. It is also an interesting thing that when they wished portraits of great maritime figures, conservative New England was still in the tradition of the mother country. They engaged the artist Cornè to paint portraits of Captain James Cook and Horatio Nelson to decorate their rooms. John Paul Jones was not in it. The captains were too close to commerce and maritime industries to consider much of what we now think is important about their activities to be worth collecting. With a few exceptions it never occurred to the captains to save material relating to their own ships. These were the tools. They would have thought no more of collecting models of ships and pictures of them for their own sake, than they would of collecting models of carriages

or wheelbarrows. They did, however, have pictures of their ships to hang in their homes, painted for sentimental reasons by artists in foreign ports. Occasionally also an ingenious sailor built a model of his ship or an imaginary one. Not until after the sailing vessel had gone and Salem was no longer one of the great maritime ports of the World but only another New England industrial city, did it occur to the officials of the Museum to save as much as possible of the material that illustrated Salem's great past. Fortunately this notion suggested itself at a time when such material was still abundant.

While the great maritime showplace of the Peabody Museum today is the restored East India Marine Hall, fully half of the Museum exhibits and nine exhibition rooms are devoted to maritime fields. In the late nineteenth century, when the officials of the Museum began to realize, as mentioned above, that the relics of Salem's great maritime heritage should be preserved, John Robinson, then a Trustee and also a Curator of the Museum, energetically began to bring all of the maritime material together, and to persuade Salem families to give ship pictures, portraits of captains, and other memorabilia of the days of sail to the Museum. The collections grew rapidly and are still growing. In a few years the collections included material from other towns of Essex County and then from all of New England. For the past quarter century our collections have become world-wide in the maritime field, although, of course, American material vastly predominates.

The model collection of the Museum, now numbering between four and five hundred, consists of rigged models and builders' half models. Most of the latter are in storage where they are available for any serious person to examine. The superb old models of the *Constitution* and the *Friendship* have already been mentioned. The series of rigged models of different types of fishing vessels that sailed out of Gloucester and other New England ports is especially fine, and it is supplemented by half models of fishermen built in the town of Essex, where at least one fishing vessel was built every year from the time the town was founded in the seventeenth century until only a few years ago. There is the model of the barquentine *Herbert J. Fuller* used in the court case during the trial of her crew members involved in the shocking murder that took place aboard that vessel. There are many early sailors' models and a good series of the exquisite little prisoner-of-war models made of ivory or boxwood. Several examples of the modern ship model builder's art are superb examples of such work. These include the continental frigate *Raleigh*, captured by the British on the coast of Maine and taken into the British Navy during the Revolution; Charles Sawyer's unfinished models of the steel bark *Kenilworth* and the American frigate *President*; Richard Orr's models of *Cleopatra's Barge* and the Rockland

built clipper ship *Red Jacket*; and the model of *Cutty Sark* built in the model shop at South Kensington. Not the least interesting are numerous models of American small craft such as dories, batteaux, gundalows and lifeboats.

The figurehead collection includes large nineteenth century carvings from the ships *Rembrandt*, *Western Belle*, *Indian Chief* and *Indian Princess*, as well as several unidentified examples. Perhaps the finest of all is the small figurehead attributed to Samuel McIntire, the famous wood carver and architect of Salem. Other ship carvings include trail boards, stern eagles, and billetheads.

Paintings and prints together number nearly 7500 and include water colours by the famous ship portraitists of the Mediterranean: Antoine Roux and his three sons; Montardier; Cammillieri; Pellegrin; the Danish artists Petersen and Clausen; and many others. The nineteenth-century Dutch painters are also well represented, as are the English oil painters, such as Salmon, Buttersworth, Tudgay, McFarlane and Walters, for example. Recently, the Museum has been given many historically important paintings of steamships, but there is not space in an article of this length to begin to enumerate the notable maritime paintings. The print collection is rich in Americana, but foreign ships are not neglected. There are particularly extensive collections on yachting, whaling, naval history, transatlantic steamships and port scenes. Oriental scenes are especially well represented by numerous paintings of Chinese and other Far Eastern ports, including oils, water colours and some four hundred sketches by the noted English artist, George Chinnery. There is also a large collection of portraits of ship captains, particularly from Salem and Essex County.

In numbers, however, the prints and paintings are dwarfed by the enormous photographic collection. This now runs into the hundreds of thousands and includes both sail and steam. The negative collection is in the vicinity of thirty thousand. So many large collections of both photographic prints and negatives have been received in the past five years that the cataloguing has not yet caught up. Among the important photographic collections are the Bradlee prints of steamships; the Luke negatives of sailing vessels; the Clark collection of prints of sailing vessels; the Verkin prints and negatives of ships in Galveston, Texas, during the first twenty-five or thirty years of the twentieth century, the Heald and McRoberts collections of steamship prints; and the enormous Deitsch collection of over 100,000 on ocean-going steamships of over a thousand tons.

The permanent exhibitions include shipwrights', coopers', caulkers', sail makers', and riggers' tools.

The Museum is especially rich in its nautical instrument collection. While it does not contain the very early spectacular material which one

may see at Greenwich or Oxford, there are long series of Davis and Hadley quadrants, sextants by different makers, two of the half-dozen known original cross staffs, compasses, celestial and terrestrial globes, spyglasses, several unusual instruments, and quantities of the small instruments used by the navigator to plot his course.

Sailors' arts and crafts are well represented by ropework and ships-in-bottles. The scrimshaw collection numbers nearly a thousand specimens and contains many particularly fine and unique examples. Scrimshawing was mostly the work of whalers who whiled away their spare time etching whales' teeth, making jagging wheels for decorating the edges of pies, or busks for their ladies' corsets. Elaborate swifts were also favourite subjects as well as numerous, simple, practical gadgets and tools such as clothes pins, bodkins, carpenter's squares, and fids.

During the China trade any spare niches in a ship's hold were packed with export china which was brought home in vast quantities. The Museum is fortunate in having the superb collection of Oriental Lowestoft ware given by Mrs Francis B. Crowninshield a few years ago. Each piece is decorated with a ship flying the American flag. Almost equally notable is the Liverpool ware collection. Liverpool jugs and bowls were the popular kitchen ware brought home by the captains from that port. Today the ware is rare and costly. Liverpool ware is usually decorated in black or gray with ship pictures, portraits of famous people or scenes or verse appropriate to the sailor. One of the finest collections of this material in existence was given us by Mrs Guy Lowell in memory of her husband, the eminent Boston architect who designed the Museum of Fine Arts, among many other buildings.

In 1953 we opened the Crowninshield Memorial Gallery which contains a small octagonal room showing Mrs Crowninshield's Oriental Lowestoft collection, a room containing George Crowninshield's original bed on the yacht and other personal belongings, and a picture gallery. The central room of the gallery, however, is the reconstruction of the cabin saloon of *Cleopatra's Barge*. This famous yacht, built in Salem in 1816 by George Crowninshield, Jr., was the first ocean-cruising yacht built in America. George Crowninshield was young, wealthy and an enthusiastic sailor when he retired from the sea. He built the yacht in the manner of European royal yachts and in 1817 made a famous cruise of Mediterranean ports. It was rumoured that the vessel was built to rescue Napoleon, but it is doubtful that George Crowninshield would have attempted such a foolish thing, although he was the type of person who would have enjoyed the gossip about it. He was a fabulous party giver and entertained handsomely wherever he made port. After his return from his Mediterranean cruise,

however, and while he was planning a second cruise to Great Britain and the Baltic, he died of a heart attack on board *Cleopatra's Barge* in Salem Harbour. She was then sold for merchant service and later became the royal yacht of the King of the Hawaiian Islands. While Kamehameha III was visiting his royal colleagues in Great Britain, members of his court ran her on a reef on the north side of Kaui, and there her bones lie to this day. The cabin reconstruction has been done with great care, and in it are shown much of the original furniture of the yacht which has been preserved in the Crowninshield family. The adjacent picture gallery contains Mr Orr's model of the *Barge*, portraits of the Crowninshield family, the vessels they owned, and a large painting of Crowninshield wharf in Salem in the days of its greatest activity.

The Library of the Museum supplements the collections and is a reference library for the staff and visiting scholars. Besides the reference books, however, it contains large numbers of maritime manuscripts, the business letters of American shipping firms, hundreds of log books, broadsides, account books and journals. The Library is especially rich in series of ship registers and also has good working collections in the fields of ethnology and natural history. There is also a notable collection on exploration in the Pacific containing many rarities.

THE SQUARE-TUCK STERN AND THE GUN-DECK

By L. G. C. Laughton

[The following pages have been taken from one of Laughton's note-books dealing with the *Mary Gonson* and should be read in connexion with the article printed in August 1960.

R. C. ANDERSON]

IT is not yet possible to give a very definite answer to the question as to when English ships were first given square sterns, meaning thereby when did the lower orlop first end square on a transom across the head of the sternpost so as to leave a flat surface below the transom (Gonson's 'stern-beam') down to the 'tuck'. Of late we have got into the habit of calling this a 'square tuck', to distinguish it from the 'square stern' above the transom.

John Rous's ships in his life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (who died in 1439), are not contemporary with the Earl, but are usually said to be of the same date as Rous's roll, which is of about 1480. This is probably approximately true, though it may be suggested that they may

possibly be from drawings made several years earlier. They may perhaps represent ships of as early as 1460, redrawn about 1480. All are round sterned, so that the inference that the square tuck was introduced in Henry VII's reign seems to have much in its favour.

At the beginning of his reign Henry VII built two great ships, the *Sovereign* and the *Regent*, of which we have inventories (N.R.S.) but very little else.

As compared with the ships of Henry VIII these two ships may have been of about 800 and 1000 tons, but no tonnage is given for them in the inventories. The *Regent*, which was burnt in action in 1512, had been built under the supervision of Sir Richard Guldeford, who was Master General of the Ordnance. The *Sovereign* is perhaps the more interesting ship, both as having been similarly built by Sir Reginald Bray, the architect of St George's Chapel, Windsor, and of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster; also because, after having been partially rebuilt in 1509 and lasting till about 1525, there was opposition to breaking her up as unfit for further repair, because her 'form is so marvellously goodly that great pity it were she should die'. It is also noteworthy that, when Bray was commissioned to build her, the old *Grace Dieu*, of probably nearly equal size, was given to him for breaking up, that her materials might be used in the making of the *Sovereign*. Thus a century or so later she would probably have been called the '*Grace Dieu* rebuilt', whence it is likely sprang the legend that Henry VII anticipated his son in building a ship named *Henry Grace Dieu*; as indeed he might have done had he thought of so naming her, which in fact he did not.

Oppenheim suggested that King entrusted the building of these ships to Bray and Guldeford because they were personal friends of his and stood high at court, 'as a cheap mark of favour, which would enable them to reap certain perquisites without expense to the King'. This seems to ignore some important facts, such as that the master shipwrights of those days were men of tradition and rule of thumb, so that improvement and innovation were not likely to come suddenly from them; that Henry did want innovation, after the model of the *Colombe*, with which he had fallen in love when in Brittany; that Guldeford had been with him in Brittany and may be assumed to have been familiar with that ship; that immediately after his accession Henry had appointed Guldeford Master of the Ordnance, probably because he knew his thoughts to tend in that direction; that Bray had been in the service of the Countess of Richmond for many years before her son Henry gained the Throne, so that his qualities and especially his skill in architecture cannot but have been well known to the King. It might therefore be represented that Henry, wishing to build two great ships with

all the good qualities possible, deliberately chose the best architects he knew and the men best informed in what concerned their armaments, to take charge of their construction. As Bray and Guldeford had been closely associated in great affairs before Henry's victory at Bosworth, it is reasonable to infer that they maintained their association and consulted together in building the two great ships.

There is, however, no known record of this, and it is a matter for inference how, and exactly when, the changes in naval architecture which are known to have taken place about this time came about.

The most noticeable of these changes is the introduction of the 'square tuck' in place of the old round stern. We do not know what ship first had it in England or abroad. Conceivably this was one of the features of the *Colombe*, and if so we would expect it to have been introduced from her into the *Sovereign* and *Regent*; but we have no information on either point. If, as may be accepted, the *Sovereign* had it in Henry VIII's time, it may have been introduced in her large repair of 1509.

One consequence that would follow would be the shortening of the sternpost, which formerly was built up in the tradition of the old high stems, carrying no great weight and consequently less objectionable. As the accommodation above the orlops aft increased, the weight swaying on the sternpost seems to have proved that in its old form it could not be made strong enough. In 1419 the height of the sternpost of Henry V's Bayonne ship was 48 feet. In 1514 that of the *Henry Grace a Dieu*, a ship half as big again as the other, by the analogy of the *Mary Gonson* must have been about 41 feet, but on that of the Bayonne ship it would have been 55 feet. It cannot be assumed that this great reduction of 25% was made in one step. It is more likely that it was in progress during the dark ages of the fifteenth century and the further change in this direction made at the end of the century brought the post down to the more reasonable height at which it remained for long. Jacques Coeur's ship of Bourges, *c.* 1450 (*M.M.* 1911, p. 131), seems to illustrate the first step, which probably went back long before that date. It certainly did so in the Mediterranean.

Another consequence was that the sheer aft was reduced and the width of the hull at the post was increased from a rounding in at the gunwale to the width of the transom. Instead therefore of supporting flimsy upper works abaft by brackets it became easy to carry out a counter over the rudder-head and thus to erect a more solid structure which carried its width out over the stern.

It also became a simple matter, as soon as the need for it was seen, to cut stern-chase ports in the flat of the 'tuck' itself and mount there a couple

of heavy guns. The *Henry Grace a Dieu* had there two guns of about 10 tons each.

Yet another consequence which is certain, though its date remains conjectural, is the introduction of the whipstaff, whereby the helmsman was brought up to the light of day and enabled to steer by the sails. I have no earlier mention of the whipstaff than 1607, but it is then spoken of as being in familiar use, as a thing that needed no accounting for. It may then have been over 100 years old, but perhaps a good deal less.[1]

These points are here but touched upon; it will need more consideration and research to decide how far their realization was due to Henry VII.

As to guns, it is known that even the great ships of Henry V carried very few, many of them small; but in the middle of the fifteenth century guns began to be really effective both by land and sea. Winnington's capture of the Hanseatic fleet of 100 sail between Portland and Guernsey was in 1449;[2] and the battle of Chatillon, which ended the Hundred Years War, was decided by the French artillery in 1453.

The ships which had been Edward IV's, acquired by Henry VII with the Crown, though in a semi-dismantled condition, still had many guns on board when inventoried. Thus it is not surprising to find that Henry's two great ships, with the Master of the Ordnance concerned in their design and equipment, should have many more. Detail is unnecessary here; it is enough to say that each was credited with about 200 'serpentines', while the *Sovereign* had 31 'stone guns' on what would have later been named her upper deck. The term 'serpentine' meant strictly a small long gun, often, perhaps usually, throwing a shot of no more than 1 lb.; but there were among them a good many 'serpentines of brass', which were frequently much larger, as these may have been. Also, as that name was often used generically as a synonym for 'gun', it is very likely that the *Regent*, like the *Sovereign*, had a fair proportion of 'stone guns', which, though of short range, might throw heavy shot up to perhaps 12 in. diameter. In other words, the time had come when it was realized that the small gun which could pierce the pavesses and upper works of a great ship could not hurt her hull proper; for that purpose heavy shot were needed.

There is a story that a French shipwright in 1501 was the first who had the idea of cutting out gun-ports on the lower orlop. This may be true, though I know of no evidence for it beyond the fact that guns were mounted at the after end of that orlop a few years later. It is not, however, noticed that long before the alleged date a port a side was often cut in that position,

1 See *M.M.*, 1919, pp. 86–7, for a suggestion that the whipstaff was known to Rabelais in 1535 or thereabouts. [R.C.A.]

2 I can find no mention of this incident elsewhere; nor of Winnington. [R.C.A.]

as can be seen from contemporary drawings or other pictures, e.g. Reixach's ship-picture of 1448 and W.A.'s Flemish carrack of about 1480, each of which shows a lidded port there. These were, of course, not used as gun-ports, though they might have been; they were the cargo-ports which much later came to be known as 'raft-ports'.[1] They date back at least to Henry IV's reign, as can be seen from mentions of repairs, etc., to them in the records and from payments to a special rating as 'keeper of the port', evidently a post of some responsibility. The *Mary of the Tower*, which had belonged to Edward IV, was supplied, after 1485, with 'a bolte of Irne for the porte'.

The purpose of putting heavy guns on the lower orlop was to be able to hit the enemy ship on the waterline when firing point blank. The earlier 'stone guns' mounted a deck higher were probably so erratic as rarely to hit her at all. We have no record of ships sunk by gunfire before 1512.

The lower orlop was at or even below the waterline amidships and only rose a little above it as it sheered up to its ends. Thus near the stern room for two or sometimes 3 guns a side could be found, which would allow their port-cills to be placed some 4 feet above water. It has been suggested that after Henry VIII's first war with France a similar pair of ports were cut at the fore end of the lower orlop, but I have met with no evidence for this apart from a suggestion in one ship in the so-called Volpe picture of 1520 or later. Still it seems not unlikely that at least the idea may have been thought of.

If no English ships had a gun-room aft on the lower orlop before 1509, it may be accepted as at least extremely likely that the ships, including the *Sovereign*, which had repairs and some reconstruction at that time, received these ports as well as a pair of stern-chase ports in the transom. At the beginning of the war of 1512 Henry VIII's ships had no 'stone guns' in these positions, but 'murderers' on the broadside and great 'slings' in stern-chase. These fired iron shot, the 'murderers' most commonly being about 32-prs. and the 'slings' being flat-trajectory guns of long range. The 'murderer' seems to have been derived from the 'great stone gun' of short range and to have developed further into the 'curtow', a muzzle loader of the same size.

The transition from the carrack to what afterwards became the ship-of-the-line was not complete until it had been realized that it was impossible to give the lower orlop a complete tier of guns until its height had been raised by some 2 feet or perhaps more. Raleigh has been scoffed at for stating that when the *Mary Rose* capsized and sank on going into action

1 Was not a 'raft-port' placed close to the sternpost (or stem) to allow for loading long timber fore-and-aft? [R.C.A].

in 1545, her lower-deck ports were only 16 inches from the water. I believe that he knew and understood what happened.

When, in 1536, Henry found that he had money in hand from the plunder of the monasteries, he decided to spend some of it in bringing his fleet up to date, an important feature being the provision of a complete lower-orlop broadside of heavy guns. The *Mary Rose* was one of the first, if not the first, ship taken in hand, and that she was brought forward quickly is evidenced by her wreck, which showed that when she sank she still had many guns, such as slings, which by then were considered quite out of date. It is not difficult to suppose that it was not realized in the hurry that her orlop ought to be raised and that in fact it was not raised. That later ships in the reconstruction programme had their orlops raised—for no other came to grief in the same way—seems fairly certain, and in the case of the *Henry Grace a Dieu* can be proved from her wreck. She was taken in hand some 2 years after the *Mary Rose* and others presumably had the same alteration before her; for it is difficult to believe that the *Mary Rose* can have gone to sea after her repair without both seamen and shipwrights noticing and commenting on her condition as being 'precarious and not at all permanent'. No doubt it was intended to alter her again later on, unless it was decided that she was so old as to be not worth the cost and that she was to take her chance as long as might be. She was 36 years old when she sank and had probably been kept in service as being a good sailer.

THE BARQUENTINE *RAYMOND* AND HER OWNER-MASTER

By James Murdoch

[The following Autobiography was given me some years ago by the late Captain James Murdoch, one of the last of the owner-masters of the days of the square rigged sailing coasters. Although Scottish by birth, for many years he lived in the port of Poole; a stronghold of the sailing coasters, particularly in the late Georgian and early Victorian days of the Newfoundland Trade. Incidentally on her last trip to Poole, soon after the end of the 1914–18 War, knowing that it was her last voyage, Captain Murdoch sailed her right up through the twisting Main Channel of the Harbour, up to Poole Quay and berthed her there, without either tug or engine; a common enough feat before the days of steam, but a rare event for a square rigger in the twentieth century.

ALFRED F. BURT]

I WENT to sea in the year 1890 along with my father, John Murdoch, Master and Owner of the Brig *Mayfield* of Liverpool, 186 tons registered, 310 tons deadweight. She was built at Hylton in Sunderland to the order of Captain Rae of Liverpool and for twenty years she traded

in the Southern Trade, going to Mediterranean Ports principally, but one voyage she went to Newport, Mon., and loaded for Pernambuco. From there she took in ballast and went to Inquique and loaded nitrate for Liverpool. After this voyage my father bought her and I joined him in Liverpool River as a 'First Voyager'. We had on board a cargo of salt for Galway in the West of Ireland; three days out from Liverpool we had a very heavy gale and I was very sick and felt very queer at times. We traded wherever we could get a good freight.

My life on the *Mayfield* was very happy. Being young I was always on a keen lookout for Eight Bells and always ready to turn in. One voyage stands out very clearly in my mind. We loaded a cargo of salt at Runcorn for Reikjavik in Iceland, we towed down to the Sloyne near New Ferry. There were three Schooners also bound to Reikjavik—the *Guiding Star*, 220 tons deadweight; the *Maggie Lou*, 240 tons, and the *Sunbeam* 230 tons. We lay two days at the Sloyne making everything ready for the voyage. We had a spare fore topmast of pitch pine lashed on the Port side, and a spare main topmast on the Starboard side. We were well found in sails and gear. Robert Stitt of Palnackie was Mate; a hard case that everyone of us was heartily scared of. The four ships tripped their anchors together and going down the Mersey we were the last ship, the others being faster in fine weather; when it came dark the *Guiding Star* was leading, next came the *Sunbeam*, *Maggie Lou*, and the *Mayfield* was last. Next day we were going through the Highlands, and could see our competitors about 8 miles ahead; the wind was fair but light at times which did not suit the *Mayfield*. When we got abreast of the Butt of the Lewis the weather began to look threatening, but we could lay two points above our course before dark; it was blowing a whole gale and the *Mayfield* had overtaken all the others and was making a more weatherly course. We were now down to lower topsails and standing jib. It screeched and blew for three days and three nights and with the sea so heavy it was anything but comfortable; no damage was done, the ship was making her course and doing about $3\frac{1}{2}$ knots. We could not see any of the other company keepers and many were the guesses made. Some said they were ahead, Robert Stitt the Mate said they are either astern of us or below us, meaning that he thought the gale was too much for them. The weather now was fine and were were running with all canvas set.

The ninth day out we were opposite Reikjavik when we backed the main yard and put the Union Jack up for a Pilot. We had not been stopped 15 minutes before we saw a small boat coming to us. This was the Pilot for Reikjavik. My father said whenever he was alongside—'Any English Schooners arrive Pilot?'. He said 'No English Schooners here Captain,

You are the first.' This put the Captain in good spirits and a glass of rum was served out to every man except me—I was considered too young! The Pilot had his son in the boat with him and he took his son's share also which I thought was rather hard; on the other hand it rather consoled me as I felt 'Well I am not the only one going short!' We ran into Reikjavik and the next morning commenced discharging into boats carrying 3 tons. Each man got a glass of rum, this was customary, with the exception of myself and the Pilot's son.

After discharging we had to ballast the ship with one hundred tons of stones. Four days after we arrived the *Maggie Lou* came in with all her bulwarks gone. The *Sunbeam*, nearly a wreck came in seven days later. The *Guiding Star* was lost altogether, but the crew saved. We won because the schooners hove to during the gale. We sailed on and with the leeway the *Mayfield* just made her course. She sailed 252 miles whilst the others were drifting.

I sailed in the *Mayfield* as Boy, O.S., A.B., and then Mate. At the age of twenty I took charge of the *Isabella* of Liverpool a schooner of 150 tons deadweight, and sailed her successfully for one year.

I now come to an important part of my life. 1896 I got married at Poole to Jessie K. B. Wilkins, daughter of Captain Wilkins. Sailing from Poole this voyage for Antwerp I took my wife with me and she sailed with me many voyages. One voyage we left Poole for Rouen with a cargo of clay. When we left Poole the weather did not look well. Mr Stone was the Pilot; and the wind was E.S.E. Mr Stone remarked he did not like the look of it. We reached right over to the French side and fetched Ouistreham, the wind flew from E.S.E. to N.E. and blew a gale; we were on a lee shore and I was anxious whether she would weather Cape Barfleur. We carried a heavy press of canvas; we weathered the Cape about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and then tried the pump. After an hours pumping we found 3 feet of water in her hold and the water was gradually gaining on us, and the ship getting deeper in the water. One big sea came on board and smashed our small boats to atoms; things were now looking black with a sinking ship and no boat to launch in case of her foundering. At daylight in the morning we could see the land at St Albans Head, the ship was now getting very deep in the water and the wind was moderating all the time. We weathered the Shambles Light vessel, and now made up our minds to try and get her into Portland Roads, but the tide was taking us too fast to leeward so I told them to hoist the flag for a tug. The *Albert Victor* came alongside and asked us what we wanted. I told him I wanted to get into Portland Roads or Weymouth preferred so he agreed to tow us into Weymouth for twenty pounds. We gave him our tow rope and he towed us into Weymouth. The *Mayfield* was

towed back to Poole by the *Alert*. Captain Trew was master; she was discharged and repaired by William Allen, being hove down at Hamworthy —a very rare occurrence. He made a good job of it and I had a tight ship for many years 'til we sold her to Captain Waters at Rochester.

I then bought the three-masted Schooner *Red Rose* of Fleetwood, 340 tons deadweight. She was built at Glasson Dock. She was a fast vessel having made the voyage from Newfoundland to Oporto in 9 days with 300 tons of codfish. Whilst I had her we left the Tyne for Plymouth, wind strong N.E., Sutton Pool was our place of discharge; whilst going out we saw the steamer *Eleanor* of Swansea leaving, also bound to Sutton Pool. We arrived sixteen hours before the *Eleanor*. First twenty-four hours out we made the Kentish Knock, and the next twenty-four out we made Plymouth Sound; sailed in the Eastern entrance. Captain Cundery came and took us in tow and towed us into the Pool. Many watches she logged 44 miles, this was considered good work in a deep-loaded Coaster. Going round the Newarp; we had a nice dinner in the Galley, plum pudding, Roast Beef and potatoes; we never had this dinner, she shipped a sea and took pots and pans and pudding overboard and the poor Irish Cook nearly with it; he came aft and told me the sad news. I remember one incident with that same cook. He burnt his pudding cloth and not going to be beaten he boiled the duff in one of his stockings; when he brought it down to the Cabin it looked like a man's leg with raisins in it. Never mind, it was eaten, every scrap of it.

The trade I was in with the *Red Rose* mostly, we loaded coals at Hebburn-on-Tyne for Exeter then Teignmouth and then Antwerp with clay and back to the Tyne with a cargo. The Gas Company at Exeter bought a small steamer and we lost the contract.

One voyage I was taken ill at Exeter with flu. Captain Rickard took charge of the *Red Rose* and I went into business with Mr Holland of Newcastle. We bought a tug called the *Lady Morgan*, the business was not a success, we sold the tug and I was very glad to go back to sea again. Mr Wilson asked me to take charge of the Brigantine *Heligoland*. She was a very light draft ship, carried 300 tons on 9 feet of water, she was steel. The War had now started and the submarines were sinking our ships.

We left Shields for Barfleur, little Joe Bell the Broker fixed us 18*s*. a ton. We had a fine passage; after we got round Dungeness we kept close to the land on account of submarines. My wife was very anxious. I saw a man in a small boat, I asked him if he would post a card to my wife for me. He said 'Yes'. He came alongside, I gave him the card and 1*s*. for his trouble. That night when abreast of Beachy Head, my watch below, I heard firing. The Mate came down and said 'Someone is firing at us

across our bows'. I told him to heave the ship too. A Man of War's man came on board, we were arrested, and took us into Newhaven Roads or Seaford Roads. I was taken ashore before the shore Captain. I asked him the meaning of it. He said 'You have been acting suspiciously by sending cards ashore'. I told him what was on the card. He said 'Someone has been supplying the German submarines with oil, and if it is you, you and your crew will all be shot at dawn'. I said 'We should deserve it if we did such a thing'. They came on board, took off the hatches and saw the coal. One man said 'What is under the coal'. 'The ship's bottom you fool' the Mate said; they were not satisfied. They dug til they got to the bottom, and finding nothing allowed us to resume our voyage. We had been detained two days. This was very annoying with a fair wind blowing away. We arrived at Barfleur, took in ballast for Dieppe, there we loaded a cargo of boulders for St Peters on Tyne.

The lights were now all out on the East Coast, the only light to be seen was the Smithic. The West Country ships all deserted it and there were very few sailing ships trading, some of them got a tug and towed, the *Mimie Somers* and one or two ships belonging to Mr Arthur Tate towed both ways; regarding the Whitstable ships, all the Captains, with the exception of a few, left their ships and went Piloting. I made up my mind to stick at my job. I had 22 shares of the *Utopia*—Brig. I went in her and did a few voyages. I then made up my mind to go in for a ship of my own. I came to Fowey with the *Utopia*, Mr Slade, my friend, advised me to buy the Brigantine *Raymond* from the Joiners at Whitstable, Mr Slade said he would rig her out for me as a Barquentine and right well did he do his work and made a splendid job of it. He made all her yards and rigging new, had all the sails repaired and did everything that was required, put a new motor winch on her deck.

I chartered the ship for Rouen. John Petersen was Mate, Wilfred Milson was cook. We were not loaded and the ship was laying in the Pill. There was a great deal of work still to be done before the ship was ready for sea; sails had to be bent, hatches battened down and everything made secure. I had a scratch crew. I wanted one good man more as some of *Raymond* sails were very heavy to handle. She had a very big togalensail and square foresail, and her anchors were also heavy, and an old fashioned windlass. We now mustered 6 hands all told. I must have another man from somewhere. I now wanted to get to sea. I was telegraphing Plymouth, Newcastle, London and Poole. I was going up the street in Fowey when I fell in with a Swedish sailor who had sailed with me in the *Red Rose*. I said 'Charlie, I want you to run away from that Russian vessel and come with me in the *Raymond*'. At first he said 'No'. I said 'You had better

come and have some beer'. I also gave him five shillings. I talked to him and he said 'I will come with you'. I made arrangements with the Mate of the three-masted Schooner *Traveller* to go to the Russian vessel at midnight and bring him on board the *Raymond*. He was as good as his word and brought Charlie on board. The next morning he was up aloft bending the main topmast staysail. I spied a policeman coming towards the *Raymond*. I ran to the Galley, 'Cook, take the linoleum up and put that new sailor down the lazarette and pull the new linoleum over him'. We just got this done, when a big fat policeman, got alongside with the boat. 'Good morning Captain Murdoch', he said. I answered 'Good morning to you, what do you want here?' 'There has been a sailor stolen from that big schooner up the harbour.' I said to him, 'What has that to do with me?' He said, 'I am told he is on board the *Raymond*'. I said 'Oh no, we have our complement of men'. He came on board and asked 'Can I have a look round?' 'Oh yes why not—he is not here.' He asked me if I would unbatten the hatches. I said 'No, but I will get you a hammer to unbatten them for yourself'. He went down the hold and searched amongst the china clay. He came up as white as a miller. I laughed and asked him if he had found him. His words were 'Have I Hell!' He went into the boat in a very bad temper. It was now afternoon. Charlie had to have his food down the Lazarette. 'You can't come up', I said, 'I am certain they will be back.' In about 2 hours time I saw a boat coming with the Superintendent of Police, the policeman, and Mr Fox, the Alien Officer. The boat came alongside and the Superintendent read me out the Warrant, and I consented, after it was read, to let them come on board, and they commenced to search. The Mate, John Peterson, was sitting down the cabin with his feet on the trap door of the Lazarette. I told him 'Don't move unless you are forced to'. They searched for 3 hours without success, Mr Fox, said to the Superintendent, 'Don't you think it's strange the Mate has never shifted his seat?' They asked him to shift and had the linoleum up, and Berry the policeman sang out 'I have found him'. The policeman came up and dragged poor Charlie after him, then came over to me, slapped me on the back, and said 'Murdoch, I have beaten you'. I answered 'It looks like it'.

Charlie lay down on the deck and said they would have to take him by force. I said to the policeman, 'I will speak to him'. I advised him to go quietly, I will think of a way out of this trouble. They took him ashore and locked him up. I sat down in the Cabin and asked myself the question 'Was I going to be beaten by an ordinary Policeman?'

My next move then was to get a message delivered to my sailor. I had friends in Fowey. I arranged for Charlie to say if they would let him out

of prison and go on board and work and let bygones be bygones. He was to work for two days and then I would come for him again with my boat; he worked two days and I went at midnight, got my sailor, made arrangements with the Captain of the *Gallant* and towed to sea 3 a.m. in the morning; blowing a gale of wind S.W. raining hard, just the morning for the job; the tug gave us a toot with his whistle and a cheer as well.

We went to Havre in 24 hours, there we got the tug and towed to Rouen. We then fixed with Messrs Duparc for Sunderland; we got a decent freight. Mr Sewell, a Newcastle gentleman, managed the English Schooners. He was a very fine man and was very highly respected by all of us trading to Rouen. We got loaded with Silver Sand, the weather was not good, the wind was Easterly. We went to sea and reached over to the English land and fetched into Dungeness Roads, blowing very hard E.N.E. There was a gateway at Folkstone that we had to have a leading wind to go through, as it was too narrow to beat a vessel through and there was no tugs available. Whilst laying at Dungeness we saw a big steamer blown up and the sea was strewn with wreckage. The Germans were doing their best to put the sailors' wind up.

One morning we got a change of wind, it came N.W. We got through the downs, but only got as far as the North Foreland when the wind shifted to N.E. again dead against us. There was nothing for it but to whack her at it and carry as much sail as possible and watch every advantage of the wind. The third night from Dungeness we were standing in towards the Crossand Light vessel. The wind now had gone to the E.N.E. and she would head N. by E. on the Starboard Tack. I said to the Mate 'We will give her the to'galensail when we get round the Lightship'. He said 'I think she has to'galensails enough on her'. Up comes one of our destroyers and hails us. 'Where are you bound?' 'Sunderland' we sang out. He says 'You have to go back to the Downs, the German Fleet is out'. 'I am bound to Sunderland', I said, 'and might as well go on to Sunderland as go back to Deal.' He sang out 'If you don't go back I will fire at you'. I sang out 'Fire away'. Then he started firing across our bows and made us go back to Deal. Next morning we were preparing to anchor. They came and said 'You can't anchor here you must go to Spithead, the German Fleet is out'. I asked the trawler if the German Fleet had done much damage. He said 'That was only a rumour'. I had been sent back 250 miles on a rumour!

This was very annoying as we had a hard beat to get North but there was no help for it. When coming into the Isle of Wight a trawler came to us and told me I had to anchor at St Helens Roads. I said 'This is impossible as our paraffin was all gone, and provisions'. He said 'I will go and signal

and see if you can go into Ryde Roads'. He came back and said 'you have permission to go into Ryde Roads and get your needs supplied at Ryde'. We stayed at Ryde four days.

When the wind came from the westward 7 a.m. in the morning, we got underway, 9 p.m. we were going into the Downs, there was an Air Raid on. I was just looking for a berth when the lookout sang out 'A Schooner right under your bow with no light up'. I put the Helm hard a starboard as the *Raymond* would always come to quicker than she would keep away, but it was too late, we crashed into a schooner which turned out to be the *Countess of Derby* of Jersey, with slates in. We pulled up the boom jib and got clear of her; we had not much damage. Two of our Mizzen Champlates were gone but she was making no water, and the *Raymond* would work without a Mizzen. Deal boatmen came alongside and brought the Captain of the *Countess of Derby* alongside. He said to me 'You ran into us last night'. I said 'We ran into someone, what are you going to do?' 'What have I to do?' I said 'You are Captain of your own ship you must do what you like, I am going on my passage North as quickly as possible'. We got underway and ran N. going round the Crossand. A German Air Ship tried to drop bombs on us but they all dropped far short. The wind kept S.W. and we arrived at Sunderland without further incident 16 days from Rouen.

I got on the telephone to Mr Joe Bell and he said he could fix me for Cherbourge to load from Blyth. I accepted and we towed to Blyth and got a good turn loading. Two of my sailors left and I had to get two more. I got two young men, one had done a voyage in a big ship, the other one had not been to sea before. I had no Mate. I relied on Wilfred Milsom to give me an hour or two sleep in the middle of the day, but was glad when we got to Yarmouth Roads. We anchored there one morning and left the next. The mate called me at 6 a.m. and said 'the wind is N.West'. I asked 'Has any of the steamers gone through the Stamford Channel yet?'. He said 'No'. 'Well', I said, 'I am not going to be the first.' 7 a.m. one small steamer, the *Rose*, got underway and was blown up and everyone on board was killed in the Stamford Channel; the Germans came over in the night and laid the mines. After this the traffic was all stopped til the Trawlers cleared the Channel of mines, they got up 12.

11 a.m. we got underway and sailed to the Downs where we had to let go for the night, Admiralty orders. The next morning the wind was N.E. and we got underway and we shaped our course for Cape Barfleur, 2 p.m. we were going past Barfleur. There was a small steamer inside of us called the *City of Ghent* and the *Raymond* was $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the North of her. A small German submarine came up between us. He commenced firing

at the *City of Ghent*. She stopped and the crew took to their boat. The Captain of the submarine asked Captain Payne, 'What is the name of that Barquentine?' Captain Payne said 'the *Raymond*, she is bound to Cherbourg same as us'. 'Well', he said, 'I will sink the *Raymond* after I have despatched you.' He placed two bombs aboard of the *City of Ghent* and she blew up with a terrible explosion. It shook the *Raymond* but this was our salvation. The Destroyers came out of Cherbourg, 3 of them, and 'Jerry' dived. We were now approaching the breakwater, and got in alright. The first one I saw when I got in was Harry Payne, the Captain of the *City of Ghent*.

We now took in ballast for Fowey, although I got a letter from a friend saying that I had better keep clear for a time, as it was rumoured I was to be prosecuted for pinching the sailor. I wrote to him that I was coming to Fowey and I dare say I would get off with paying; another big factor, the freights were better at Fowey. I wired Messrs Hanan and Samuel to fix me for Rouen again, so we sailed and got into Fowey first ship of a fleet. I went in 3 a.m. in the morning. Peter Jacobs was the Pilot. Him and I were good friends as we had often met when he was Master of *John Slade*. 'Well Captain, I am sorry to tell you that I hear you are going to get a job under Government.' 'That's good Peter', I made out I did not understand him, as Government jobs were cushey ones. 'I am afraid, old man, you will have to go to jail about that sailor you stole from the Russian. Is he on board?' 'Yes,' I said, 'that's him coiling up the rope on the after hatch'. Whilst we were talking Mr Fox the Alien Officer came on board. 'Come down', I said. We opened a bottle and Mr Fox said 'You took away that man then after all'. I said 'Yes, he is on board now'. Mr Fox said 'You must not do these things'. I said, 'Mr Fox necessity knows no law'. He then told me the authorities had written the Home Secretary to get me prosecuted on my return. The reply was this:

> 'Owing to the trouble these sailing ships have in getting a crew these times I do not think it would serve any wise purpose in prosecuting James Murdoch, the Master of the *Raymond*.'

I dressed and went ashore and the first one I met was the big Policeman. He said 'We are going to prosecute you Murdoch'. 'Fire away my friend' I said. Needless to say no action was taken against me. We loaded at the jetties again for Rouen and arrived there in quick time. The Germans were sinking our schooners and steamers, every day some names were added to the list of the victims.

Wages were going up and our ships were being sunk at our very doors. The Germans sank the *Dependence* at the Manacles and said 'Where are your destroyers? Don't tell me Britannia rules the waves. Get in your

boat', he told Captain Hooper and his crew. Then the *Ocean Swell* was sunk—Captain Deacon—and the *Macbayne*—Barquentine—Captain Beymon, and the *Martha Edmonds*, three-masted schooners all belonging to Mr Stephens at Fowey.

About this time some of the Schooners made long voyages and the good freights were no good to them as by the time the cargo was out the freight was eaten up with expenses, insurance was very high. This voyage we loaded at Fowey, there was a schooner called the *Cremyll* a fast vessel loading for Rouen also. She had two guns on board, twelve pounders. Captain Charrington belonged to the Old School of Seamen, once he gave his word it was as good as a signed stamped document. I met him and he said 'I will keep company with you as I am armed and you are not'. I thanked him and we agreed to sail together. The gallant tug, Captain Toms, towed us out and came back and towed the *Cremyll* out. Captain Charrington overtook the *Raymond* very quickly and passed us. He then took in the big topsail and the two ships sailed along side by side. We wanted to be up at the Bill of Portland by Dark, and cross over to the French shore in the dark. We arrived at the Bill of Portland and took our departure, but the wind fell light and the next morning at daylight found us 25 miles off Barfleur, calm now and very little wind, the *Cremyll* was close to us. I could hear John Charrington arguing the point with the Mate. The Mate wanted to leave us, but Captain Charrington said 'I won't leave the *Raymond* if it takes a month to get across. I am one of those men who don't break their word, Mr'. I could hear this quite plain as the weather was very still. We got a little more wind and could see Cape Barfleur 8 miles away. It was my watch below when I heard a loud report, one of the lads rushed down below and said 'There is a submarine firing at us, and he has made a big hole in our main topmast staysail'. I came on deck. The *Cremyll* was getting ready for the attack. His Gunner was at his gun, he was on our Port side, Captain Charrington said to his Gunner 'Michael, take careful aim' and the first shot he struck the submarine and killed one of the Gunners and did damage to the submarine so she could not dive. Two Destroyers came out of Cherbourg and collared the submarine and took her into Cherbourg, a Prisoner of War. The Destroyers came and asked us if we were all right, and finding both ships undamaged we sailed to Havre. Captain Charrington and myself went to the Authorities and reported the incident. Captain Charrington was rewarded for his bravery by the English Admiralty, but for the *Cremyll* keeping company with us and Captain Charrington's goodness, the *Raymond* would have been sunk.

The submarines were getting very bold. The *Utopia* was loaded with 300 tons of scrap iron from London to Rouen. Half way across the

Channel a German submarine came alongside. The Commander asked Captain Petersen 'Where are you bound to?' 'Rouen.' He yelled 'What is your cargo?' 'Scrap iron' Petersen answered. 'Yes' said the Commander of the submarine, 'to make bullets to kill us, get in your boat. We are going to sink you.' They sank her by shell fire. Captain Petersen stood up in his boat and cried bitterly as he watched his little vessel sink on a fine day with all canvas set. The *Gazelle* Ketch was sunk by the same submarine. Both crews kept company, and were picked up by a trawler and towed to Dover and landed there. The *Ada* Brigantine was bound for

Fig. 1. The Barquentine *Raymond*. (From a photograph.)

Sunderland, passed the Shambles Lightvessel, a German Submarine came up and sank her. After they sank the ship they fired at the boat and made a hole in it. One man stuffed his hat in the hole and with constant bailing they kept the boat afloat and managed to reach Weymouth. The Brigantine *Brenda*, Captain Albert Moore, was sunk off Beachey Head in broad daylight. Captain Moore landed at Newhaven. The *Jane Williamson* was sunk off Pendeen and after sinking the ship, they turned the guns on the boat, killing my friend Captain Robert Kearon and two sailors in the boat. The *Frau Mina Petersen*, 3-mast Schooner, Captain May, bound to Harburg with slates, was taken a prize and the crew taken prisoners. Captain May managed to escape and get home. Things were getting very lively in the Coasting trade. We were sailing at night without any side lights and

going round corners like the Longships, you had to keep your eyes and your ears open. Bound from Swansea to Cherbourg in the *Raymond* with anthracite coal we had orders to call at Falmouth for orders which track to take to France. We towed out of Swansea, wind N.N.W. fresh. We got down as far as Godrevey Lighthouse when the wind came on to blow hard about W.S.W. We were carrying a good press of sail. Our boat was in the Davits with provisions and ships papers in her as we were always expecting to be sunk. We could not expect to get clear away any more than any of our neighbours, towards dark, ship was labouring heavily, we lowered the boat down on deck; a big sea broke on board and took oars and provisions overboard. We weathered the Longships next morning and went into Falmouth.

We left Falmouth for Cherbourg. 13 ships, Barquentines, Schooners, Ketches, and we were given a convoy, a big trawler, Captain Ridley was the Master and right well he did his work. He would steam round us all night long and come and speak sometimes. It brought me in mind of a great big dog looking after a lot of children.

We got about 60 miles off Cherbourg when it fell a flat calm. Captain Ridley came and said to me 'I think I had better take you in tow'. I answered 'A good idea'. 'You being the biggest ship I will take you next the trawler'. He towed us all into Cherbourg.

Captain came on board and I gave him all the English money I had on board £5, the *Jane Slade* also gave £5. I admired Captain Ridley, the way he handled these 13 ships and never broke a rope yarn. I afterwards learnt he had been brought up in the Shields Tugs, and the Shields men are second to none at this class of work.

Whilst we were in Cherbourg there were crews being landed there every day. A big four-masted sailing ship was becalmed off Cherbourg bound to Havre. She had come all the way from Portland Oregon with flour, that night she was sunk by a submarine, crew landed at Barfleur. A big Clan Liner, Captain McEwen, belonging to Dumfries, she had 9000 tons of flour in from Portland Oregon, was sunk just outside of the Breakwater; the Captain sent Clan Line a telegram 'Caught again'. It was just six months since he got his last ship sunk, but everyone was in good spirits and there was plenty of dancing, music and roller skating; these were lively times in Cherbourg.

Whilst we were there we heard the news about the *Lusitania* being sunk off the Irish Coast and everyone was staggered at the news. We took in ballast at Cherbourg, and went to Shields to load coals for Quimper. Nothing out of the common happened on this voyage. By now all the sailing ships had deserted the East Coast of England, except Captain

Goodwin of the *Aneroid* and the *Raymond*. It was often said by some of the 'Feather bed' sailors 'The *Raymond* will go to Newcastle once too often', but the *Raymond* is afloat still and looks well.

This voyage we loaded a cargo of gas coals for Quimper. Mr Joseph Bell fixed us; we had a decent run down the East Coast but we were stopped again by the Admiralty. I took the boat ashore and went to Mr Jennings, the seaside Butcher, and the shop was full of people, Mr Jennings said 'Before the War I had a shop full of meat and no people, Now I have a shop full of people and no meat. The sailors dealt with me before the War so the sailors must get served first.' And he stuck to his rule. Any Skipper that went to Mr Jennings was never sent away empty handed. He was good to the Coasters.

After detaining us four days we had orders from the Admiralty that we could proceed. We got underway with a nice N.E. wind and had a nice run to the Eddystone. A destroyer ordered us into Fowey where we were detained 4 days. We got permission to sail and we arrived at Quimper all well 12 days; we got to our discharging berth and commenced discharging into carts. Food was none too plentiful at Quimper, and the Bretons were feeling the pinch of the blockade, but no one doubted the ultimate issue of the War. Jerry was bound to be beaten. I met one French Skipper there. He had lost two sons at the front. He said to me 'You English, Captain, all say you will not ship any Germans after the War. I will get as many as possible aboard of my ship, promise them good wages but, says he, "they will never draw their wages, they will be missing, the first chance".'

Whilst at Quimper we heard of the Tyne Pilot Cutter being sunk and 19 Pilots being drowned. We had a young man on board from Shields, he knew some of the victims. After our coals were out we took in ballast for Fowey.

We left Benedote in the morning, although the Pilot told us that there had been some firing heard off Penmarch Point. We had to make tack or two before we squared away from the Tanets. There were several vessels about. One very fine vessel passed us quickly, she was painted white. The Master had his wife on board; she had gone past us about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile when we heard bangs, submarines again; they put 8 shots into this lovely schooner and she sank. The crew pulled ashore to a small village called Anderne. The submarine then dived and came up alongside the *Raymond*. The Commander, a young man, asked 'Where are you bound to?' 'Fowey' I answered. 'Well, get into the boat you English B. . .'s, we are going to sink you.' I said 'I am not English'. 'What Country man are you?' I said 'Scots'. He said 'That's a damned sight worse'. He went a short distance away and commenced firing at us; the first shot he fired at us went

through our square foresail. Wilfred Milsom held up both his hands and said 'My dear God Almighty'. I said 'Wilfie that's the first time I have heard you mention God's name since you have been in this ship'. He answered 'Now is the time we want him Captain, no use to call him if you don't need him'. The submarine fired again and the next shot he put right into the forecastle through the ship's side. Some of the pieces of shell came on deck, and as I thought we were going to be sunk I gave the order 'Lower away the boat' and we got into her. I put the wheel hard down and made up my mind to bid goodby to my ship. He fired another shot at the ship and when he struck her she reeled over, as being light and only 80 tons of ballast in, had not much hold of the water. We now found we had no thowles in the boat and had to scull her. At this time a shot came from the sea and nearly struck the submarine, as some of the spray went over the Officers in the Conning Tower. She dived and we sculled alongside of the *Raymond* again and went aboard and found she was making about eight inches of water per hour.

We made up our minds to put into Brest and get our damage repaired. We ran into the harbour and I stuck her on the Sandy Beach inside of the Breakwater where she dried at low water. Meantime our crew had collected all the pieces of shell which had burst on our decks and took them ashore and sold them and they got more drink than was good for them. However, I could not say very much. I went up the town at Brest and bought two pairs of blankets and nailed them over the holes that the submarine had made in our bow; I then got a carpenter and bought some planks and big spike nails and we nailed the planks to the bow, caulked the seams and pitched them to make the ship watertight. When all was finished we got the ship afloat to our anchor inside the breakwater, there to await orders from the English Consul to sail.

The Submarine warfare was at its height now; 53 ships a week were being sunk by the Germans. Morning after morning I went to the Consul to ask permission to sail. His answer invariably was 'It's too hot for you yet, too many submarines about'. After being at Brest 3 weeks, one morning I got permission to sail. There was a café on the quay that I used to meet some English Captains in, and they always had an English paper. I said to Madame, 'I am leaving today'. She said ' I hope you will pay your Bill before you go'. 'My Bill', I said, 'I owe you no bill'. 'Well,' the Madame said, 'The Cook has had a bottle of Rum for the Captain every day and said you were loud in your praises of the brand'. I said 'Madame I haven't had a glass of rum since I have been in Brest'. I went down to the boat and gave the cook a good shaking. I paid 180 francs for rum he had whilst we were in Brest.

We sailed from Brest and arrived at Fowey without accident. We got our ballast out and took the ship to Mr Slade's yard to get it repaired; by the War Insurance. I went home and told Mr Slade to repair her as if she were his own ship and he did a good job on her. The submarine warfare was going on hard as ever. I took it on myself to write to Lord Charles Beresford to see if he would give us a gun to defend ourselves in case of attack. I had a letter to say his idea was to arm all ships with one gun on each quarter, but we sailed again for Rouen. The three-masted Schooner *Marie* was sunk whilst we were on passage to Havre, also the Schooner *Agnes Cairns*, Captain Penalligan. We anchored in Havre Roads to await a tug to take us up to Rouen. Close to us was a Norwegian Barque, about 1800 tons, she had a cargo of nitrate in from Caleta Buena, West Coast of South America. When daylight came she was sunk. Her Royal yards were just showing above the water; they were getting very bold. We towed up to Rouen and whilst there this time they commenced air raids. We were lying alongside of a small island, the raids generally started about midnight, we got a warning from the Town when all was clear by a siren blowing. Some of the crew went into a dug-out whilst the raids were in progress, but they were miserable damp holes dug out of an old quarry. I only heard of one servant girl losing her life in the raids. One night the Petroleum works caught fire and two German Prisoners were caught in the act. They were promptly put up against the wall and shot.

This voyage we had to load a cargo for London as there was nothing for the North of England. We loaded and sailed and got to London all right, there we took in 300 tons of Burnt Ore for Newcastle Bede Metal Works. Coming down the Thames we now had to come down the Black Deeps. This was nearly the *Raymond*'s last voyage. We had to keep close to the land on account of the submarines. We were about ½ mile off Whitby Bar falling very fast the wind was W.S.W. very light but a big swell coming in from N.E. The gale struck us at E.N.E. I knew it was either Hartlepool or the Rocks so close was she in that we had to go to leeward of the Red Car Rocks Buoy. The sea was the worst I had ever seen. I put the Mate to the wheel and directed him to steer by my signals. I was up on the Fore yard to pick up the Bouys. She went into the Old Harbour like a steamer. The Harbour Master came on board and congratulated me in getting in. He said 'if any of your gear had been carried away you were all lost'. I asked him 'Where is the Heugh Lighthouse?' He said 'There was a raid here 3 days ago and they blew the Lighthouse down'.

I then went to Middlesborough to see a friend, Mr Robinson, and made the agreement to go to the Tyne when it moderated. We lay two days in the Old Harbour and then towed to Hebburn. We got underway, wind

northerly, bound for Landerneau. Sunday morning we arrived at Brest, where we got the tug for Landerneau.

We took in ballast and came across to Fowey to load for Newcastle. While in Fowey the Government put two splendid guns on board, two twelve pounders, also 5 tons of ammunition, they would carry 8 miles. They were securely bolted to the deck and could be easily swung overboard. One of my Gunners Alexander Tait, belonged to Shetland. He was a splendid shot. When we left Fowey it was a fine day. I said to him 'We must try our new guns Alex then we will be ready for Mr Submarine'. We had a gunner in each watch; we threw a barrel overboard and Alex smashed it the first shot. Everything went well till we were up to the Outer Dowsing, the wind was light from the North West, we were heading to the N.N.E. It was very still and you could hear speaking in German. I got Alexander Tait on deck and said 'There is a German handy, I can hear them talking'. It cleared a little and there she was laying mines. I gave Alex the order 'Fire'. He struck her on the quarter, she dropped the mine laying and went away full speed to the North East. When it cleared I pulled up the signals to one of our Destroyers. 'I have something important to communicate.' I told him 'There was a Mine Layer gone away to the North East two hours ago'. The Commander thanked me and went away to the North East full speed.

Whilst we were passing Whitby a Coble was fishing and he told me two big steamers had been torpedoed about an hour ago. A German submarine had been laying mines at the entrance to Sunderland and she struck one of her own mines and was blown to smithereens; they picked up the Commander and took him prisoner. We arrived at Newcastle all right. I was sent for by the Admiralty and they thanked me for giving the information, saying 'Our Destroyer sank that German Mine Layer that same day'.

There used to be a big fleet of Coasting sailing vessels out of Guernsey. The last one, the *Sidney* belonging to Mr Bird, has gone. Good hard sailors were made aboard of these little vessels. In my day I have seen as many as 100 Schooners, Brigs, Barquentines and three-masted Schooners when there was a spell of Westerly winds. One of my voyages to Newcastle during the Great War stands out very clearly. We were off Cromer, the Bar. was down to 29 with a light Southerly wind. The wind came away howling about North East. There was a big three-masted Schooner in Company called the *Lambert* belonging to Mr Tait of Newcastle. She had iron ore in and was fully loaded; a very bad cargo in bad weather. The weather came on so bad I made up my mind to run back to the Crossand Light Vessel and heave her to. The *Lambert* followed us; it was now snowing

and howling. We made the Crossland before dark; the *Lambert* was with us and hove to with her head to E.S.E. We lay all night. The next night we saw a vessel in difficulties with her main mast gone; it came a terrific squall and when the squall cleared away the *Lambert* had disappeared. We suffered no damage to speak of. When I arrived at the Tyne, Joe Bell, the Broker, said 'Have you seen anything of the *Lambert*?'. I said 'Yes, she will never be seen again Joe'. He told Mr Tait, who said, 'If the *Raymond* could come through the *Lambert* can come through'. Needless to say the *Lambert* was never seen again.

It was getting more difficult to navigate a sailing vessel all the time, what with Admiralty instructions; they used to come and tell us to let go our anchor at night time; we were told at dark to go and bung up. We used to start clearing up some of our sails and make out we were going to anchor, then when they were out of sight sheet home again and carry on. I had to go on the carpet for this at Newcastle. We were bound North and I had orders to go to the Humber, there to await fresh orders. The wind was S.S.West and too good to miss so we carried on. When we were at Filey Buoy we heard a lot of firing; we afterwards learnt two steamers were sunk. When I arrived I was sent to go before the Commander. He said 'You had orders to go to the Humber and you never went near, what have you to say for yourself?' I said 'The wind was shy Sir'. 'Was it not you that was shy?' I had to admit that was the case. He was a gentleman and did not make much fuss and I went on my way rejoicing. We had two gunners on board now, and five tons of ammunition so we were prepared to show fight. A gunner on each watch and the sinkings were getting less and so were the freights.

We loaded house coals at Blyth for Caen for Mr Laine, a very fine gentleman who treated us well on our arrival. In fact he treated me like one of the family. Our track was now given to us. We had to keep within ½ mile of the shore all the way to the Humber then we had to go inside the Race Bank and then out to Cromer on a South East by East course. We never burned any side lights and there were many wrecks which had no lighted buoys on them. We had to take our chance, but the *Raymond* was always a lucky ship. When we got to Yarmouth Roads we always waited till the Channel was swept by the Minesweepers before we could make a start. We had now to go up the Black Deeps and down the Edinburgh Channel round the Margate Sand Buoy and thence into the Downs. When we got to the Downs the other Coasters that were there told me they had been stopped a fortnight there. I made up my mind to go on board of the Guardship and see the Captain to ask him if he would allow me to proceed. 9 a.m. next morning I went alongside and asked to see the Captain. I was

taken to his Cabin, and found him to be a perfect gentleman. I told him the Merchant was very short of coals at Caen and I would be pleased if he would let me proceed. He said 'When the tide makes to the Westward heave up your anchor and let her drift past the South Foreland, when you are round the corner hoist your sails and proceed on your voyage'. We had to go through the gateway at Folkstone cross over to Boulogne and then keep close into the French Coast all along until we got to Havre where the Bay was mined and netted. When we got abreast of Etaples the night was very calm, not an air of wind. We could hear the guns roaring on the front, and no one on board could sleep. We all thought of our boys on the Battle-field in the trenches. We were glad when we got a little breeze from the South East to get away farther to the Westward. We got within 5 miles of Oystreham when the wind fell away to a calm again. A big trawler came and asked us where we were bound to; we told him 'Caen'. He took our tow rope and towed us right into the Basin at Oystreham. We then got the tug and towed up the Canal to Mr Laine's wharf and started to discharge. Sunday morning the Mate, John Peterson, came and told me Wilfred Milsom had refused duty, he would not get up and get the breakfast ready; the Mate had to cook it. In the evening Milsom came aft and wanted some money. 'No money for you Milsom, you refused duty.' I kept him without money for two days; he had a favourite cat on board and he actually took his cat ashore and sold it for five francs saying 'You are the only means of quenching my thirst'. We took in ballast again for Fowey; we had to go to Havre Roads and go across from there to St Catherines Point and then down along the 'English land'; the weather was calm, the very worst sort of weather for a sailing ship. I took the ship's boat and went on board of 14 coasting steamers to try and get a tow across. I offered £100, but at last I came across a good friend who took us over to Beachy Head. We could then make our passage.

One day off Dieppe we thought we saw a submarine periscope. I called Alexander Tait and showed him it, he fired and struck it fair; it jumped up into the air and turned out to be a pit prop floating in the water, some ship had lost it from their deckload. We were now getting iron ore direct back from Caen to Middlesborough, and then towing to Blyth to load coals; this was better than going to Fowey every voyage from Caen. After we got our two twelve pounders, we never saw a German Submarine. I was told that they could see us but we could not see them. The sailing vessels now were very scarce, many disappeared and were never seen again, nor any tidings of their crews. The *Zebrina* was picked up 3 miles off Cherbourg, abandoned, no one aboard. There had been a tragedy as there was blood on her decks; I knew the Master of her well. A fine chap he was.

Whitstable where there were over a hundred Barquentines, Brigantines and Schooners. The only ones that were left were the *Emma Ernest* three-masted Schooner, and the *Aneroid* Captain Goodwin, I think these were the only two out of Whitstable that ran the blockade and stuck to their ships. The rest all went piloting on the East Coast. Captain Dan Court of the *Speedwell* also stuck to his ship. I think the last ship he had was the *Cumberland Lassie*. I should say myself he was the finest character of a Seaman and a Shipmaster that ever I knew. He was always cheery and something to make you laugh always. He lost his life taking a small ketch to Limerick. He was very highly thought of and respected in Whitstable, and everywhere he went. Captain Gilbins was lost with him, who was the Owner of the Ketch. To-day Whitstable has not got one square rigged vessel left. Dover also used to have several Barquentines. The *Iron Queen* and several more, now she has not got one.

Folkstone had also 7 or 8 Barquentines and Brigs. The *Minnie Somers* and the *Mary Ann*, Captain Wood, I think she was lost off Cape Grisnez, were all crack ships in their day. Portsmouth also had some fine big coasters; the *Water Witch* Barquentine, was a famous Coaster; Captain Gardener would never lay windbound, when the ship was ready she had to go to sea, and when he was at sea he meant business. She belonged to Mr Crampton at Portsmouth and did many record trips, and I believe she is afloat today commanded by Captain Deacon.

Of the Guernsey Coasters the most famous was the *Leading Chief*, Captain Penninson; she was reckoned a big coaster carrying 550 tons, she did the voyage from Guernsey to London, with stone clay to the Tyne, and was back to Guernsey with a coal cargo in the twentieth day. Captain Penninson was a sail carrier and would stop for nothing. The *Leading Chief* finished her career on the Gunfleet sands, but Captain Penninson was not in charge, having retired from the sea.

In these days an A.B. had to be a full fledged seaman or he would get his wages docked quickly; the West Country used to have a big fleet, also Fowey and Par. Plymouth also had quite a fleet and they were noted for low wages, nevertheless many of the Skippers bought schooners of their own after being Master for some years. The fastest schooners belonging to the West of England were the *Amaranth* and the *Katie Cluett*. Captain Allen of the *Amaranth* was washed overboard off Anvil Point and drowned. He was a fine ship's master and a hard driver.

The *Sappho*, Captain May, was a very fast schooner; she was lost, and all hands, on a voyage to Leith. Captain Dixon was in command of her. There was a fleet of Schooners, Barquentines and Ketches belonging to Bridport. The *William* Barquentine 350 tons deadweight and the *Saltram*

a very fine vessel; now Bridport does not own one sailing vessel. Teignmouth also owned a fleet. The *Millie Bain*, Captain Sam Lockyer, the *Prothesa*, the *Glimpse*, Captain Lockyer, disappeared on a voyage from Newcastle. The *Eldra* was sunk by enemy action; Captain Walter Truscott was Master. The *Netherton* Brigantine also was sunk, and the *Fanny*, Captain Rees, was sunk on a voyage from Glasgow to Brest, all hands were lost with her. The sailing vessels had very little chance to get away from a submarine as they had not the speed. It was a simple thing to run the blockade with a steamer as you could easily cross the Channel in the dark with no lights, but if you did not make the English or French shore before daylight in the morning in a Windjammer your fate was practically sealed. The *William George*, Captain Smith, was sunk, belonging to Mr Westcott, a very fine schooner and a fast sailer. Chester River also had a fleet. The *Katie Sweeney* and *Richard Fisher* both 3-masted schooners carrying 350 tons each were all lost, never to be replaced. It is a common occurrence now to make a 500-mile coasting voyage and never see a coasting schooner, whereas before the War there were hundreds of them. Runcorn had a fine fleet also, nearly all fine vessels. The *Despatch*, the *Alert* and *Mary Miller* are still afloat and trading, but merchants want their cargoes quicker now and some of our own ship masters who I could name were to blame for the sailing vessels. They lay at anchor studying the weather and making almanacs when they ought to have been at sea making their passages. There is no cheaper propelling power than the wind and no trade union can alter the price of that. A Master on board of a sailing ship when he gets to sea is absolutely the master; not so a steamer, the Engineer can humbug you if he wishes. There is a saying amongst seamen that oil and water will never mix, but I entirely disagree. The Engineers I have met and been ship mates with were very fine men, and would despise doing anything that was dirty or underhanded. But steam and motor power are gradually gaining ground and sail is being superseded I am sorry to say. Our own Government has discarded it; the little Brigs at Plymouth for training the boys have all been sold to be broken up, other nations still have sailing ships but Britain has dropped them altogether unless it is one of the old hands. You cannot ship a decent A.B. to-day in the true sense of the word. (Voyage to Iceland in the *Mayfield* from Runcorn.) This gale my father, John Murdoch, stood at the wheel for 18 hours at a stretch. I think I can see him now standing like a statue with his whiskers blowing in the wind. A hard case sailor he was; he detested the sight of a steamer and used to say if they consumed their own dirt would not be so bad.

Poole used to own a fleet of sailing vessels. Captain Mann of Mistley owned the *Francis and Jane*, Captain Harvey; *Queen of Mistley*, Captain

Edwards; *Lothair*, Captain Cracknell; and the *Jubilee*, Captain James Reason, traded regularly from Newcastle to Poole. Captain Mann had an open challenge that if any coasting vessel beat the *Queen of Mistley* or *Francis and Jane* on passages from Tyne to Poole he would buy them a new mainsail. The *Lily* Brigantine of Ipswich, Captain Waldron, left the Tyne along with *Francis and Jane* but was badly beaten, the *Francis* getting to Poole 24 hours before her.

The War is now getting to a close and I can plainly see I will have to sell the *Raymond* as she is getting out of date. The Armistice was signed and I had trouble to get work for her. Messrs Hannen and Samuels sold her to some young London Pilots who wanted to put their time in square rigged. Trinity House demands that a London River Pilot must spend one year as officer on board of a square rigged sailing ship. It was with a heavy heart when I commenced to pack up my clothes in the *Raymond* to go home as she was the best and most comfortable ship I had ever been in, there were no tricks about the *Raymond*, and I believe she would never drown you if you kept plenty of water under her; she is now being used in Poole Harbour as a training ship for boys by Mr Quirk.

I cannot close my story without making reference to the *Mary Ann*, Captain Pulsford; when I was young she was one of the fastest Brigantines on the Coast, and under Captain Pulsford did some record work and went to sea in all weather. When Captain Pulsford left her I am afraid she lost her good name for sailing; of course she was getting older and would not stand it. The coasting trade for a wooden vessel is a hard trade as she often had to lie in a berth that was not level and load on the ground.

I now went to Southampton to Whites Yard and bought the three-masted steel schooner called the *Ianthe*, she would carry 280 tons and drew about 9-3 of water. She had an Invincible motor in her and I am afraid when it comes to me having to answer to the Great Scorer for my sins, that motor will have to take the blame; I ran it for some time. When we installed a new motor in her called the Industrie, Mr Neuenhams of Nuenport, Belgium, installed it, along with my Engineer John Edwards of Skerries in Ireland, and right well they did their work. All the time Mr John Edwards drove the motor we did not have one little hitch. She was just like a little steamer, she would go 7 knots on 5 gallons of the common cheap oil. We went one voyage from Poole to Gefle with clay in six days, went through the Kiel Canal, loaded timber for Exeter and came back in 8 days. The next voyage she loaded clay, Teignmouth to Egersund in Norway; Captain Birkett had charge of her. The expenses in the Baltic are too heavy for a small ship to make any money as it is all swallowed up with heavy charges. Oil is very dear and also provisions at these Northern

Ports. Captain Birkett made a very good voyage back to Bridport with the *Ianthe*. There I sold her through Thomas Maclaren to Murray and Co., Fish Merchants, St Johns, Newfoundland.

RECRUITMENT OF BRITISH PERSONNEL FOR THE RUSSIAN SERVICE 1734–1738

By R. J. Morda Evans

IT is well known that foreigners played a leading part in the growth and development of the Russian fleet in the eighteenth century. Britain's role was often significant. At times it was dominant. From the early days of feverish, ruthless activity under Peter the Great; throughout the decades of hostility, indifference and even downright neglect under his immediate successors; and during the strenuous and fruitful struggle for revival and expansion under Catherine the Great, men from Great Britain were building, sailing and commanding Russian warships. Peter's visit to Western Europe was as much an intensive recruiting campaign as an unorthodox, imperial apprenticeship served in the shipyards of Amsterdam and Deptford. The full story of the contribution of British shipbuilders and craftsmen to the growth of the Russian Navy has still to be written, but they were responsible for a large proportion of the ships of the line and the frigates.[1] The men who commanded these ships are better known. Officers like Lord Duffus, Thomas Gordon, Christopher O'Brien, John Elphinstone, Samuel Greig and Sir Charles Knowles, reached high rank in the Russian Navy. They served its cause with real devotion and often with distinction. In August 1728, Claudius Rondeau, at that time secretary to the British Consul, but later himself Minister in Russia, was invited to visit the naval base at Kronstadt by 'Mr Noy, the first shipbuilder that came to Russia'. The two men dined with Admiral Thomas Gordon. In a subsequent dispatch to Townshend, Secretary of State, Rondeau wrote:

'I have great reason to think that ten English men-of-war will be able to beat their whole fleet, if they was to meet them at sea, which I believe the Russians will take care shall not happen, for they are not willing to try their ships against those of His Majesty.'[2]

1 See M. S. Anderson, 'Great Britain and the Growth of the Russian Fleet in the Eighteenth Century' (*Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. 42, 1956, p. 134 and *passim*).

2 *Sbornik Imperialovskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 9–12. Hereafter quoted as *Sbornik*....

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that without the British shipbuilders there would have been few Russian ships fit to put to sea; without the British commissioned officers and Masters, few men fit to sail them. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Russian fleet could dispense with foreign help.

The names of many of the British officers who commanded Russian ships have already been briefly listed.[1] It is the purpose of this article to take a very short period of time—1734–38—and to try to identify a little more closely some of the men, mainly commissioned officers and Masters, who joined the Russian service during those years. The period chosen covers most of the Embassy in London of Prince Antiokh Dmitrievich Kantemir (1709–44), the celebrated Russian satirist, prosodist and translator. Kantemir came to London in the spring of 1732. There had been no Russian minister in London since the rupture in diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1721. Kantemir's main task was to try to persuade the English court to enter into a treaty of mutual defence with Russia. In this he failed, but during his embassy, there was concluded the important commercial treaty of 1734. He left England in 1738 to become Russian ambassador in Paris, where he died in 1744. One of Kantemir's minor commissions, the one which concerns us here, was the recruitment of personnel for service in Russia, particularly in the Russian Fleet. The choice of the years 1734–38 is fortuitous. The material used in this short survey came to light during research, for another purpose, into Kantemir's activities in London. It seemed worth while collating and presenting it as a kind of supplement to Dr Anderson's list. It attempts to put flesh and blood round the bare bones of men whose names are known. It also contains names of men so far unlisted and generally unknown, but whose careers in the Russian sea-service were interesting and, in some cases, important.

Materials for the article are scattered, but it may be useful to mention the main sources. Much information lies buried in the volumes of the monumental Russian *Materials for a History of the Russian Fleet.*[2] Miscellaneous documents referring to Kantemir's embassy are in the Public Record Office. His despatches from London, recognized in Russia as models of their kind, are unfortunately only available in print for 1732–33.[3] However, a large number of his later despatches have been published

1 R. C. Anderson, 'British and American Officers in the Russian Navy' (*Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. 33, 1947, pp. 17–27).

2 *Materialy dlya listorii Russkogo Flota*, ed. F. F. Veselago, seventeen vols. St Petersburg, 1865–1904, Vol. VII (1879) and Vol. VIII (1880). Hereafter quoted as *Materialy*. . . .

3 *Relatsii iz Londona Kn. A. D. Kantemira*, Vol. I (1732–33), ed. V. N. Aleksandvenko, Moscow, 1892. Only the first of the projected work in three volumes was published.

in other works (mainly Russian) devoted to him.[1] The instructions sent to him from the College of Foreign Affairs in Russia during 1732 have also been published. Other instructions, more relevant to naval matters, may be found in the '*Materials*' referred to above and in the useful descriptive summary of the Russian naval archives.[2] Useful extracts from his letters and other personal papers have also been published in Russia. The despatches of British ministers in Russia and instructions sent to them are, fortunately, readily accessible in the invaluable printed collections of the Russian Imperial Historical Society.

On 27 January 1735, the President of the Russian College of Admiralty, Admiral F. A. Golovin, informed his colleagues of the Empress Ann's instruction to recruit six naval Captains and six Lieutenants from abroad. They resolved to seek them in England. Those officers who had sea-service as Lieutenants were to be officers of the rank of Captain in the Russian fleet; those who had served as Midshipmen were to be promoted Lieutenants. Captains were to be paid 40 roubles a month, Lieutenants 15 roubles. These were the rates of pay, respectively, of First Rank Captains and First Lieutenants in the Russian Fleet.

To compare rates of pay in the two countries is difficult as there are so many imponderables. Service in the Russian navy was no bed of roses, nor judging by contemporary accounts, does it seem to have improved much during the course of the eighteenth century.[3] Peter the Great showed little respect for persons and his behaviour was always unpredictable. His close successors were no less autocratic, although far less able. Nor was their apathy towards naval matters helpful when it came to the honouring of contracts and the prompt payment of wages. It should be noted in this respect, however, that the body more immediately concerned, the College of Admiralty, seems to have tried to be fair in its dealings with the foreigners. One might expect that a substantial increase in pay was the main bait used to attract foreign officers into the Russian service, but this does not seem to have been the whole case. In 1724 the anonymous author of the *History*

1 (i) L. N. Maykov, 'Materialy dlya biografii Kn. A. D. Kantemira' (*Sbornik Otdeleniya Russkogo Yazyka i Slovestnosti*, Vol. LXXIII, St Petersburg, 1903). (ii) *Sochineniya, pisma i izbrannye perevody Knyazya Antiokha Kantemira*, ed. P. A. Efremov, two vols., St Petersburg, 1867–88. Vol. II (1868) contains some of Kantemira's despatches and correspondence.

2 *Opisaniye del Arkhiva Morskogo Ministerstva za Vremya s poloviny XVII do nachala XIX stoletiya*, St Petersburg, 1895. Vols. III, V and VII refer.

3 *A Memoir of James Trevenen*, ed. Christopher Lloyd and R. C. Anderson (Publications of the Navy Records Society, London, 1959), Vol. CL, p. 128. 'A captain of a man-of-war is a very different being here and in England, and everything is in favour of the latter.' Trevenen served in the Russian Fleet from 1787 until his death from wounds received in action in 1790.

of the Russian Fleet under Peter the Great, described the financial position of foreign officers in the Russian Navy as follows:

> About twenty years ago (i.e. 1704) a rouble, according to the course of exchange, was rated at about ten shillings; whereas at present it yields no more than five shillings,[1] the intrinsic value being greatly reduced by a great alloy in the coin. Besides this loss the foreign officers have been abridged in the number of their servants; formerly a captain was allowed six common peasants given by the Tsar, and by him paid and victualled, but before the peace they were reduced to three, and the captain-lieutenants and lieutenants in proportion. Every officer advanced is obliged to give one month's pay to the hospital; and since the peace 25 kopieki per rouble, or 25 per cent deducted from the pay of those that have at any time been preferred; as also, the thirteenth month is taken away from foreigners, though continuing in the second station. Formerly they were usually paid four months in advance, at farthest, as soon as it was due; but now they are near a year in arrears. These deductions and defalcations have reduced them to very mean circumstances.[2]

This description is largely true of conditions ten years later. The Lieutenants of the Royal Navy who signed contracts with Kantemir in London and engaged to serve as First Rank Captains in Russia were accepting a monthly rate of pay of about £10. This was little more than the £8 or £7 which was their whole pay as Royal Naval Lieutenants, particularly when deductions are taken into account. If we may assume, as is most likely, that these men were some of the many unemployed officers on 'half-pay' the picture is of course different. Their 'half-pay' was £3. 10*s*. or £2. 16*s*. per month according to their length of service.[3] To such officers a short period of three years in the Russian Fleet would have its appeal. They would be First Rank Captains, paid as such, with the command of ships and an allowance of servants. They could not however count on any prize-money as this was the perquisite of officers of the galley-fleet in which British officers did not serve. But if all went well with them they might make a career in Russia and reach high rank. If they wished to return home they would be able to serve again in the Royal Navy, all the more experienced for having gone to Russia. The careers of some of the men who served in the Russian fleet during the years under review seem to bear this out.

In a report to College of Admiralty in June 1735 Kantemir was able to state that he had already engaged two officers to serve as Lieutenants and had received Admiral Wager's permission to engage six British Lieutenants

1 According to Trevenen, *op. cit.*, p. 175, the rouble in 1788 was worth only 2*s*. 6*d*.

2 *History of the Russian Fleet during the Reign of Peter the Great by a Contemporary Englishman* (1724), ed. Sir C. A. G. Bridge (Publications of the Navy Records Society, London, 1899), Vol. xv, p. 99.

3 On the question of pay see *History of the Russian Fleet. . .*, p. 96, footnote 2 and Appendix E. Details concerning half-pay are taken from a document in the *Clumber Collection* in the National Maritime Museum, CLU/5, p. 203, a copy of an Order in Council dated 15 September 1715. I am indebted to Commander R. D. Merriman for the latter reference.

for service as Captain in the Russian Fleet. The names of the latter were the following:

William Slater Griffith	6 April 1708	78
William Kensey	2 September 1708	82
John Opie	21 February 1708/9	89
Arthur Trevor	28 February 1708/9	90
Nathaniel Orris	23 June 1720	166
Somerset Master	13 August 1728	269

The spelling of the names and the dates of seniority are taken from the Sea-List of Lieutenants, dated 1 July 1734. The number in the third column shows their position in the list. There are 380 names in all.

After agreeing to the terms offered by Kantemir, the officers left for Russia. On arrival they reported to the College of Admiralty and were sent to Admiral Gordon in Kronstadt. There they took the oath of allegiance and were subsequently given their appointments.[1] If they arrived in Russia in time for the summer exercises they were to be paid from 1 January of the same year. This was another inducement the Ambassador could offer. Kantemir was also permitted to advance them money for their journey. The first of the new Captains to go were Kensey and Trevor. They were already in Russia at the end of July 1735. Griffith arrived in the middle of August. Kantemir, we learn, had given Kensey an advance payment of £50 for his journey.[2] Trouble arose over the fact that this officer had not brought his contract with him. When it arrived it was clear that he agreed to be paid from the date of his arrival in Russia. However, as he had reached Kronstadt in time to serve in the summer of 1735, he was paid from 1 January. Orris and Master arrived in the autumn of 1735. All these officers were in command of ships in 1736. Griffith died in 1737 on his way to Bryansk. Master and Orris retired in 1738. Trevor and Orris were at one time threatened with dismissal on the charge of 'incompetence and a lack of knowledge of Russian' after a dispute with Rear-Admiral Bredal. There is also a record of William Kensey, the son of Captain Kensey, being accepted as Lieutenant in the Russian Fleet in the spring of 1737. Kensey was permitted to return to England to fetch his son for service in Gordon's squadron.

Special mention must be made of the career of John Opie. This officer arrived in Russia in the early summer of 1736. Strangely enough a special imperial decree granted him immediate leave to return to England until

1 See, for example, *Materialy*..., Vol. VIII, p. 124, for the orders given to Griffith.
2 *Materialy*..., Vol. VII, p. 749.

May 1737 'for the settlement of his domestic affairs'.[1] He first went to Kronstadt and took the oath of allegiance before embarking for home. His arrival in Russia had aroused the suspicions of Rondeau, the British Minister, who raised the question of his bona-fides with Horatio Walpole[2] in a despatch dated 12/23 June 1736:

'About three weeks ago arrived here two English gentlemen, in order, as they say, to enter into Her Majesty's sea-service; one goes by the name of Captain Speedwell, and the other, who is yet a young man, by the name of Mr Cannonie. When they came to see me, Captain Speedwell shewed me a pass which he had from Prince Cantemir. I asked them several questions to which they did not give direct answers, which makes me suspect they have some other views then entering into the Czarina's fleet and what confirms me in this opinion, is, that they have not been with me a second time, and I have seen a letter sent by Mr Josias Wadsworth, one of the East India directors, to Messieurs Scheffner and Wolff, merchants at this place, who mentions that our Captain Opie, who was the first that commanded an Ostend ship to the East Indies, designed to go to Petersburg in order to engage this court to send ships to China. As I believe the above-mentioned Captain Speedwell is that Captain Opie, I should be glad to receive the King's command how to behave in case I hear he should make any proposals to this court to settle trade to the East Indies.[3]

Rondeau was quickly instructed that Opie should be prevented from 'setting on foot any other projects than the entering into the Czarina's sea-service'.[4] Of Mr Cannonie, Kantemir said he had no knowledge. On his return to England, Opie was involved in proceedings in the civil courts concerning some property of which he was administrator. Lord Harrington, Secretary of State for the Northern Department, was convinced that Opie had sought inclusion on Kantemir's list of servants merely to gain immunity and asked the prince to withdraw his protection so that the law might take its proper course.[5] There may have been some truth in this, as it was not essential for Opie to be registered as one of Kantemir's servants. The term, however, was wide enough to include secretaries and chaplains as well as valets and cooks. Kantemir was probably responsible for paying Opie his salary. In addition, Opie had received, shortly after his arrival back in London, a specific commission from the College of Admiralty in Petersburg. In September they agreed to ask him to use his leave in England to recruit carpenters for service in the Russian yards. Details were sent at the end of the month: contracts were to be for a period of at least three or four years; the men should be 'good and sober' and should be advanced money for their journey 'which would be immediately repaid.'[6]

1 *Materialy*..., Vol. VIII, p. 160.

2 First Baron Walpole of Walterton (1678–1757), younger brother of Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Oxford. In 1736 Horatio Walpole was Minister of State in Hanover during one of George II's visits to the Electorate.

3 *Sbornik*..., Vol. LXXVI, p. 522.

4 *Sbornik*..., p. 547 (Horatio Walpole to Rondeau).

5 P.R.O. SP. 104/265, Lord Harrington to Kantemir, letter dated 7 January 1736/7.

6 *Materialy*..., Vol. VIII, pp. 240 and 253.

We must, in any case, assume that he found his carpenters. On his return to Russia he was rewarded with the equivalent of a month's salary for 'the good offices rendered by him in England to the service of Her Imperial Highness'.[1] Rondeau was clearly still suspicious. He reported mysterious conferences between Opie, Cannonie and Ostermann, the Russian Foreign Minister. This time he thought they were engaged in a design to persuade the Czarina to make 'a settlement in some part of America belonging to his Catholic Majesty'. Rondeau does not seem to have been accurately informed. He suggested that it was his representations that had made Ostermann think better of such schemes and satisfy Opie and Cannonie by making the former a Captain in the Russian Fleet and the latter an assessor in the College of Commerce, 'which are not employments of any great consideration in this country'.[2] Opie had returned to Russia in June 1737, taking with him certain mathematical instruments which Ostermann had asked Kantemir to buy. Like Kensey, Opie succeeded in having a relative accepted for service in the Russian Fleet. His nephew, Samuel Stocks, joined as a Midshipman, after examination.[3] Opie was in command of the frigate *Rossiya* in 1739 and later Captain of the *Voin*. According to a reference in the *Gentleman's Magazine* he died in Russia in 1743.

There is less information about the men whom Kantemir engaged as Lieutenants. He seems to have had no difficulty in finding the number required: rather the reverse. At one stage the College of Admiralty had to instruct him to call a halt as far as the Lieutenants were concerned as they had already passed the number of six laid down in the original ukase. The College of Admiralty agreed, nevertheless, to honour any contracts which Kantemir had made before receiving their orders. They themselves were responsible for some appointments and promotions to the rank of Lieutenant of foreigners already in Russia. Thus in 1738, Thomas Cunningham was allowed, by special decree, to re-engage in the Russian Fleet as Lieutenant although there were already 161 Lieutenants against an establishment of 155, of whom ten were British. We have already referred to Lieutenant William Kensey, the son of Captain Kensey. Similarly, Alexander Gordon and William Talbot were engaged as Lieutenants in September 1737. Talbot seems to have had influential backers as he was promoted Captain in November of the same year. In their submission about him to the Empress, the College reported a strong recommendation from Rondeau and a declaration by Admiral Gordon and Rear-Admiral O'Brien of

1 *Opisaniye del Arkhiva Morskogo Ministerstva...*, Vol. VII, p. 240.
2 *Sbornik...*, Vol. LXXX, pp. 213–14.
3 *Materialy...*, Vol. VIII, p. 384.

Talbot's competence and fitness to serve as Captain. The records contain an interesting document setting out the questions put to Talbot by O'Brien and Talbot's answers.[1] A certain Alexander Benning was not so fortunate. He sought engagement as a Captain, but since he could not give satisfactory proof of service in the Royal Navy, he was examined by Admiral Gordon, recommended for the rank of Lieutenant and told he might be promoted later.

The names of the Lieutenants who went to Russia through the good offices of Kantemir seem to have been the following: Anderson, Glassforth, Leslie, Nicholas, Ogilvie, Portson, White, Smatman (?) and Janham (?). The Russian transcriptions of British surnames is not always consistent in the documents and this makes it difficult to be certain of correct identification. White's contract caused some difficulty. On his arrival in Russia he stated that he had signed the agreement on Kantemir's verbal assurance that he would be paid 20 roubles a month. Kantemir had made no such promise to the others, but there was evidently a clause in the contracts stipulating that they should receive the top grade of pay in their rank. 20 roubles a month was the rate of pay of a Captain-Lieutenant in the Russian Fleet. White was granted the pay of 20 roubles a month; but the College immediately sought the permission of the Empress to pay all the British Lieutenants at the higher rate.[2] This was the equivalent of about £5 in English money. In other respects the same procedure was followed with the Lieutenants as with the Captains. Their contracts were lodged with the College. They were sent to Admiral Gordon in Kronstadt to take the oath of allegiance and receive their appointments. One of them, at least, had no reason subsequently to regret his coming. Peter Anderson, who arrived in Russia along with Robert Portson at the end of 1735, eventually became Vice-Admiral commanding the Baltic Fleet.[3] Before leaving the Lieutenants mention should be made of an unidentified Scottish nobleman possibly a Jacobite, who approached Kantemir at the end of 1734 and said he wished to serve in the Russian navy as a Captain. In the report he submitted to the College Kantemir stated that this gentleman had served for four years in the Royal Navy as a Midshipman and subsequently for several years in Austrian ships based in Naples.[4] In their reply the College repeated their instruction that careful regard should be given to the competence of officers with whom contracts were made and enquired whether this man would be willing to serve as Lieutenant. There

1 *Opisaniye del Arkhiva Morskogo Ministerstva...*, Vol. VII, pp. 240–1. *Materialy...*, Vol. VIII, p. 403.
2 *Materialy...*, Vol. VIII, p. 186.
3 Anderson's various commands are listed by Dr Anderson.
4 *Materialy...*, Vol. VII, p. 748.

does not seem to be any further reference to this officer although his name may be one of those already listed above.

Kantemir was also successful in engaging Masters for service in the Russian navy. In the second half of 1736, for instance, he made contracts with no less than six: William Wilkens, Robert Arnot, Thomas MacKenzie, John Badcock, Thomas Swan and John Atkinson. In giving instructions about their appointments and pay, the College of Admiralty sometimes required individual Masters to be examined as to their proficiency. Swan and Atkinson were both ordered to submit to such a test at the hands of Admiral Gordon. The career of MacKenzie is of particular interest. He arrived in Russia in July 1736. Two years later he addressed a petition to the Empress in which he referred to the contract he had signed with Kantemir in London.[1] One of its terms was that he should, if worthy, be promoted Lieutenant on the expiry of his two-year engagement as Master. The petition was granted and the promotion approved in July 1738 after a remarkably short lapse of time—a mere 16 days. Thereafter MacKenzie went from strength to strength. Captain in 1754, Captain-Commodore in 1763, he eventually became Rear-Admiral in 1765 and died in Russia in the following year.

There are also some interesting details about two senior officers who sought engagements in the Russian navy during the period of Kantemir's embassy in London: Christopher O'Brien and Thomas Mathews.[2] O'Brien went to Russia in the summer of 1737. He was immediately instructed to inspect the installations and facilities at Kronstadt and to recommend plans for their extension and improvement. He was given the rank of Rear-Admiral and put in command of the second Division at Kronstadt. In November 1737, the College of Admiralty approved the provision of a stone house for him in Kronstadt, a rare luxury. There is extant an interesting letter from O'Brien to the Foreign Minister, Ostermann, from which we may learn some of the details of his engagement. O'Brien informed Ostermann that Admiral Wager had recommended him to George II as an officer worthy of the rank of Admiral in the Russian Fleet! He had discussed his contract with Kantemir in January 1736/7 and had agreed to go to Russia at his own expense. Kantemir had received no instructions from his government and kept O'Brien waiting in London until April. The date of his appointment and the amount of his pay had had to be left open for the decision of the Empress on his arrival in Russia. O'Brien's

1 *Materialy*..., Vol. VIII, p. 402. Details of MacKenzie's commands are given in Dr Anderson's list.

2 Thomas Mathews, 1676–1751. There is no reference to the trip to Russia in the entry in the *D.N.B.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 43–6.

letter to Ostermann was a request that these details should be settled as soon as possible. He supported his plea by declaring that, unlike the other English officers, he made no reservations about the length of his service, that he was anxious to serve for life and wished to have his family with him in Russia. He was granted pay from 1 April 1737. Kantemir's request for instructions about him had been answered a little late. After O'Brien's departure from England, Kantemir received a bill of exchange on which to advance him the money for his journey. By order of the Empress Kantemir was allowed to keep this towards payment of his own salary. As this was painfully inadequate and always in arrears, the Prince was grateful for the unexpected relief. Kantemir had provided O'Brien with letters of recommendation, and to his friend the Marquise de Monconseil in Paris. Rondeau noted O'Brien's arrival and in his despatch to Harrington dated 18/29 June 1737: 'Last Saturday arrived here Captain Obrion [sic] who is entered into the Czarinna's service as a rear-admiral. As I find he is come with leave of the King I shall do all I can to serve him.'[1] O'Brien became Vice-Admiral in 1740 and in spite of his declaration to Ostermann that he wished to serve for life, retired in 1742. His son Lucius and his nephew Christopher entered the Russian navy in 1739, the former as Lieutenant, the latter as Midshipman.

The other Captain or Commodore with whom Kantemir had dealings was Thomas Mathews. This officer was clearly ambitious, but also wary. He obtained Kantemir's agreement that he should go to Russia to discuss the terms of his engagement in person. He also insisted on having the King's permission in writing and, as George II was in Hanover, Kantemir asked Newcastle to obtain a written authority from the Queen.[2] He arrived in Russia in August 1735. Rondeau introduced him to Ostermann who presented him to the Empress. Rondeau's despatches tell the rest of the story: 'Matthews [*sic*] returned to England on the 4th September. The Czarinna would have willingly employed him if he would have accepted of the rank of her first vice admiral; but m-r Matthews [*sic*] not being willing to engage without he was made an admiral has taken leave of the Czarinna who desired him at the same time to assure the King of the sincere friendship and affection she has for His Majesty.'[3]

Rondeau also tells of an unfortunate accident which befell Mathews and himself on returning from watching the first regiment of guards at their exercises: 'We came to a bridge near the palace which the Czarinna had passed about a minute or two before, but before we could get over, the bridge broke and we had the ill-luck to fall into a very large and deep

1 *Sbornik...*, Vol. LXXX, p. 158.
2 *L. N. Maykov, op. cit.* p. 31.
3 *Sbornik...*, Vol. LXXVI, p. 437.

canal as did also Baron Merdefeld, the Prussian envoy...and about 30 or 40 other gentlemen. We all had the good fortune to get out but not without some danger and difficulty.'[1]

We have already referred to O'Brien's inspection of the docks at Kronstadt in 1737. Kantemir had received instructions two years earlier to try to find engineers and carpenters for such work. He succeeded in persuading his mathematics teacher, John Thomas, a former artillery captain, to lead such a group of men. Thomas, in his turn, prevailed on others to go with him. Kantemir was ordered to draw up their contracts and despatch them as soon as possible. Thomas was to be paid the equivalent of 25 shillings a day, about five roubles. Two subordinate engineers were to receive two roubles and one rouble a day respectively, that is ten shillings and five shillings. For two carpenters the rates were quoted on a yearly basis. One was to receive 600 roubles (£150) the other 400 roubles (£100). These rates of pay are interesting. Thomas, for instance, was to receive three and a half times as much for a month of 28 days than a First-Rank Captain. Both carpenters were offered rates of pay far higher than those current in the dockyards at home, when the daily rate for both master joiners and master carpenters was 2*s.* 6*d.* exclusive of 2½*d.* a week for lodging.[2] Thomas and his men duly arrived in Russia and were immediately put to work in Kronstadt.

In concluding this survey, mention may be made of perhaps the most colourful of Kantemir's recruits, the notorious John Elton. Although he was probably not an officer in the Royal Navy, Elton had clearly had experience at sea. He was largely responsible for the events which enabled the Russia Company to re-open trade with Persia through Russia and over the Caspian. Jonas Hanway's contemporary *Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, 1753, describes Elton's strange role in this highly promising commercial venture. In 1745 Hanway had gone into partnership with one of the English merchant houses in Russia and agreed to take a consignment of woollen cloth through Russia and over the Caspian to Persia. At the same time he hoped to be able to smooth out the difficulties which the trade was meeting as a result of Elton's independent and rather high-handed actions. Elton's behaviour was already causing concern to the Russia Company in London, the English merchants in Russia and the Russian government. For, although Elton 'had the chief merit in opening this trade'[3] he must also bear the chief blame for its premature collapse

1 *Sbornik...*, Vol. XXVI, p. 442.

2 *Corbett's Precedents*, Vol. 18, Sixth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, 1804. I am indebted to Mr B. McL. Ranft for this reference.

3 *Hanway*, Vol. I, p. viii.

and Russia's abrogation of the Article in the Treaty of Trade of 1734 which had permitted this commerce. Through Kantemir in London, Elton was engaged as a Captain in the Russian service in 1733. He took with him a detailed project 'On the search for a Sea-Passage from Archangel through Nova Zembla to Japan, India and America'. He had submitted his plan to Kantemir, asked for his name not to be disclosed and declared that his whole scheme, which included the establishing of an efficient whale-fishing fleet based on Archangel, would cost only £12,000. When he arrived in Russia, however, he seems to have been ordered to join the expedition to Orenburg under Tatishchev and to have spent several years surveying and mapping the south-east frontiers of Russia. Disgusted with lack of advancement, he returned from the Russian service in 1739. He was successful in persuading the English merchants in Russia, the British resident Finch, the Russia Company in London and through them, the government, of the advantage to be reaped from trade with Persia by the overland route through Russia.[1] In his enthusiasm he unfortunately became intimately attached to the Shah and it was hard for others to know where his true allegiance lay. When he subsequently became a Persian Admiral and began to build warships of a kind for Persia to sail on the Caspian, the Russians became indignant. This fact, together with Elton's scant regard for other foreign merchants, his constant quarrels with Russian officials and even his own countrymen, led to increasing frustrations and difficulties over the trade.[2] Many efforts were made to persuade him to leave Persia. He was offered honourable employment in the Royal Navy, but replied 'What is an honourable employment in the Royal Navy; since every man that serves on board the British Fleet, may very justly be said to be honourably employed?'[3] And so he remained in Persia to the last and was finally embroiled in one of the frequent revolutions in that country and was murdered. The trade reverted to the Armenians and the Russians. In a report on the situation in Persia sent to Catherine the Great in 1772, the investigator, Gmelin, wrote: 'The Persians regret the English. They speak of them only with praise, while the sad end of Elton depresses them still.'

1 *Sbornik...*, Vol. LXXV, pp. 68–9, 118–19.

2 V. A. Ulanitsky, *Russkiya Konsul'stva za granitseyu v XVIII vege*, 2 vols. Moscow, 1899, Vol. II, p. CCCXXXII.

3 *Sbornik...*, Vol. CII, pp. 423–5.

NOTES

TRIAL OF SAILING

(See *M.M.*, Vol. 47, No. 1, p. 33)

In August 1847, the following ships of the Channel Fleet took part in a trial of sailing off Lisbon

Canopus, 84 guns. Captain Fairfax Moresby (late French *Franklin*, captured 1798).
Superb, 80 guns. Captain Amas L. Corry. Designed by Sir W. Symonds. Launched 1842.
Vanguard, 80 guns. Captain George W. Willis. Designed by Sir W. Symonds. Launched 1835.
(*Flag*) *Queen*, 110 guns. Captain Sir Henry J. Leeke. Designed by Sir W. Symonds. Launched 1839.
Rodney, 92 guns. Captain Edward Collins. Designed by Sir Robert Seppings. Launched 1833.
Hibernia, 104 guns. Captain Charles Wise. Designed by Sir John Henslow. Launched 1804.
(*Flag*) *Trafalgar*, 120 guns. Captain John N. Nott. Designed by Sir William Rule. Launched 1841.
St Vincent, 120 guns. Captain Sidney C. Dacres. Designed by Sir William Rule. Launched 1815.

'The frigate *Eurydice* was sent fifteen miles to leeward and hove to. The fleet was formed in line abreast and the race was round the *Eurydice* and back, starting by signal.

It was soon evident that the honours lay between the *Superb* and the *Canopus*. In the run down the *Superb* gained eighty yards, and was the first to get in her studdingsails, reef topsails, and brace up to round the mark. She was smart but she left a little room to windward, the *Canopus* cut in and with studdingsail sheets flying and yards grinding up she scraped *Eurydice*'s spanker boom and shot up to windward of her rival. In the beat back hammocks were piped down and the men turned in (all but sail trimmers), each taking a 32-pounder shot to bed with him. It was believed that the swinging weight improved the speed. The sea got up and that suited the French-built liner as she fled home sweeping the crests like a sea-gull. She maintained her lead and when the signal was made "take up stations in order of sailing" she had beaten the *Superb* by fifty yards. The rest of the fleet with the *Vanguard* leading were two thousand to six thousand yards astern.'

In the picture, the *Superb* with her helm a'lee has taken in her studdingsails, is furling royals and flying jib, and reefing topsails. The *Canopus* also with her helm a'lee has waited till the last second to shorten sail. The royal, flying jib, and studding-sail halyards have all been let go together. The huge fore lower studdingsails, each containing two thousand six hundred square feet of canvas, are being hauled down in the waist, as the lower studdingsail booms are topped for swinging aft to their crutches.

The topmast studdingsail yards are being brought to the boom ends by the downhauls before the tacks are started to get the sails down on the forecastle and in the waist, clear of the fore and main top bowlines. The topgallant studdingsails are being hauled down abaft all, into the fore and main tops, the yardarm men lighting them over the topsail braces. Then all the studdingsail booms will be rigged in together. In less than one minute after this has been done the great topsail yards will have been lowered on the caps, the sails reefed and rehoisted.

Next, the topgallant sails will be sheeted home with the halyards slightly settled, all yards braced sharp up on the backstays, fore and main tacks boarded, sheets aft, the bowlines hauled

and the ship foaming along close hauled on the port tack. The *Eurydice* is shown hove-to with her main topsail to the mast. The remainder of the fleet headed by the *Vanguard* are running before the wind with studdingsails set a'low and a'loft.

This epic race won by the *Canopus* against some of the best sailing ships of the line ever built is not only a tribute to Captain Moresby and his ship's company, but also in a very marked degree to her brilliantly clever designer. When it is considered that the *Canopus* was at this time fifty years old her achievement is all the more remarkable, and fully justified the building by the Admiralty of the 84-gun ships *Asia*, *Bombay*, *Clarence*, *Formidable*, *Ganges*, *Monarch*, *Powerful*, *Thunderer* and *Vengeance* between the years 1821 and 1832 to her lovely lines.

[It should perhaps be added that Captain Moresby's racing tactics in getting about 8 tons of hammocks out of the nettings, and most of his ship's company on the lower deck, when working to windward 'did not amuse' his brother captains.]

HAROLD WYLLIE

HENRY STRADLING AND RICHARD BLYTH, JUNIOR

I can offer two quite unimportant additions to the information given by Mr Kennedy in his article on the careers of officers involved in the split in the Navy in 1642 (*M.M.* 1960, August).

Henry Stradling commanded the *George and Elizabeth* privateer in Digby's expedition to the Mediterranean in 1627–28. The *D.N.B.* gives the name as Edward, but it appears as Henry in the tabular list of Letters of Marque in the *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1628–29, p. 303.

Richard Blyth, junior, appears as lieutenant under his father in the *Vanguard* in the list of appointments proposed in March 1641/2 and as captain of the *Mary Rose* in the list of 1643 (*Granville Penn*, Vol. I, pp. 22 and 66).

R. C. ANDERSON

THE LOSS OF THE *SÃO FRANCISCO*

(See *M.M.*, 1960, p. 216)

A short account of this ship's unfortunate voyage was given in a footnote on p. 222 of the *M.M.* for 1950. She lost touch with her consorts and had to return. That note should have made it clear that it was on the return journey that she reached the latitude of the Azores and was attacked by privateers. Her loss at the hands of the English came later still.

C. R. BOXER

POLACRES YET AGAIN

In reply to 'Polacres Again', Vol. 46, No. 3—Steel's *Mastmaking Sailmaking and Rigging*, 1794, confirms Falconer in his statement about Polacres having no footropes.

We may ask, how good was Steel in his descriptions of foreign vessels? It is noteworthy that, on balsa rafts, he points out that they will behave like an ordinary ship by the use of planks as sliding keels. He also shows one tapered aft—to let water get to the steering oar. Both these pieces of information would have saved the crew of the *Kon Tiki* weeks of wasted effort had they known of Steel's remarks. As it was they found out the hard way.

L. F. PAGET

THE WRECK OF THE *LOO*

At 8 a.m. on 4 February 1743/4 the *Loo*,[1] a 40-gun ship about two years old, commanded by Captain Ashby Utting, was cruising about eight leagues south of Cape Florida when she sighted and chased a snow. After four hours the *Loo* came up with the chase and seems to have lay to while Utting examined his prize. She claimed to be the French-owned *Nymphe*, bound from Louisiana to Martinique, but two recently pressed men aboard the *Loo* insisted to their captain,

1 At this date the ship's name was invariably spelt without the final *e*, which is now in common usage.

that she was the bilander *Betty*, in which they had left England on 9 April 1743 and which had been taken by the Spaniards. The Spaniards had re-rigged her as a snow and there were no papers on board to prove her legal transfer to French ownership.

A passenger threw overboard a packet, but this was picked up by the *Loo*'s boat and an examination of the papers which it contained revealed that the *Nymphe* was employed upon a clandestine venture with the object of obtaining quicksilver from the English colonies for use in the Spanish mines. Utting then decided to tow the snow to Charleston for adjudication.

It was now 6 p.m. Utting stated afterwards that at that time the vessels were six or seven leagues N. by W. of the Pan of Matanzas, a conspicuous peak in Cuba, and from this point he took his departure.

The two positions given for the ship on that day do not agree. The distance between Cape Florida and the Pan of Matanxas is actually about 185 miles, but it must be pointed out that the name Cape Florida was not formerly applied to the same piece of land as it is nowadays. The *Loo* probably had the *English Pilot*, Part IV, on board. The only two editions of this which I have been able to examine, those of 1698 and 1751, each contain two charts of the area. In one chart of each edition the name is applied to the south-west corner of the Florida peninsula which is now called Cape Sable, while in the other it is applied to the south-east corner, now called Gay Largo.

The charts in these editions vary considerably and the Pan is not marked on any of them. Its approximate position can, however, be judged relative to the bay of the same name. This position would be about 140 miles S. by E. in 1698, and 150 miles S.S.E. in 1751 from Cape Florida (Cape Sable), and 120 miles S. by E. in 1698, and 130 miles S. in 1751 from Cape Florida (Gay Largo). There is evidence to indicate that Utting may have been applying the name to somewhere near Gay Largo and 24 miles S. of this would have put the ship in approximately 24° 40′ N. 80° 27′ W. (point *A* in the figure). From here the ships would have had to sail 105 miles to reach Utting's 6 p.m. position (*B*). Since they would have been sailing almost directly against the full strength of the current, i.e. two to three knots, the effective distance through the water would be more like 125 miles. In other words, if they had remained sailing from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. they would have had to average 12½ knots, or if, as seems the case, they were only under sail for four hours and then hove to they would have to have made 30 knots. The whole supposition is quite preposterous.

Now let us see what happened after 6 p.m. The *Loo* made sail and with a S.E. wind steered N.E. by N. until midnight when it was decided that the ships were to the northwards of the Double-Headed Shot Cays in the N.W. corner of Cay Sal Bank. The charts of the day all show Cay Sal far to the E. of its correct position and by them it would have been quite safe to steer direct for the Florida Strait from the 6 p.m. position. That Utting did not do so is a clear indication of his local knowledge, or that of his pilots, of the true position of Cay Sal. Things now depend upon the exact meaning intended by Utting when he said 'northwards'. If, as would first appear, he meant approximately North of the Double-Headed Shot, the *Loo* would have had to sail 130 miles in the six hours. It seems much more probable to me that he intended to imply 'North of the latitude of the Double-Headed Shot', for he would then have been in a position from which he could steer any north-easterly course with safety. This would mean that he would be somewhere near position *C*, to reach which the vessels would only have had to make good about seven knots, which with the snow in tow but a two or three knot current under her bottom seems quite reasonable.

At midnight, course was altered accordingly to N.E. and at 1.15 the *Loo* ran ashore and with her prize became a total loss. At first Utting thought that they had stranded near the Double-Headed Shot, but daylight showed that they were on what is now known as Looe Cay, which Utting says was about eight leagues W.S.W. from Cape Florida but is actually forty miles S.S.W. ½W. from Cape Sable and 65 miles S.W. by W. from Gay Largo.

The question now to be considered is how did the *Loo* come to be on her Cay instead of at position *D* where she might reasonably have been expected to be, about thirty miles to the S.S.E. Certainly the current had not been running to the west instead of to the east as claimed by Utting at his court-martial, an excuse which was accepted by the court as the cause of the accident.

I suggest that when Utting said that he was eight leagues south of Cape Florida at 8 a.m. he was very loosely giving the name to the whole isthmus and possibly even including its outlying keys. If this were so it would have put the *Loo* just north of latitude 24° N. and if he had steered S.W. towards Havana during the chase at between seven and eight knots (as seems reasonable) for four hours, with a two-knot current against him he would have been near latitude 23° 50′ N.

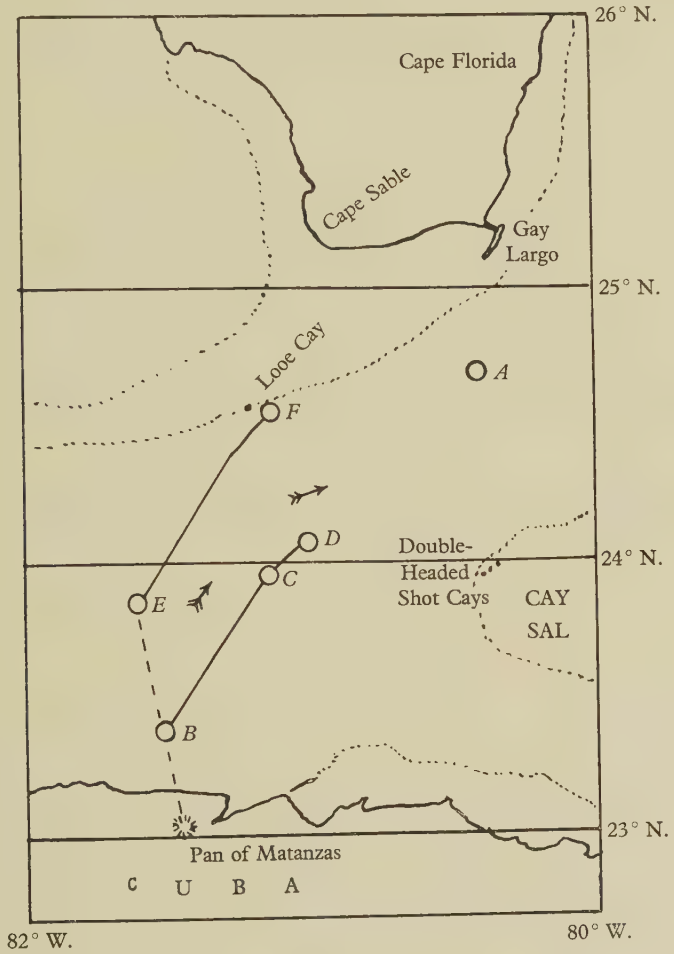


Fig. 1

It is unfortunate that the log books were all lost, for otherwise we might have had a noon position. At this date it was customary to enter in the log book at noon the latitude (by observation if a sight had been obtained, otherwise by D.R.), the D.R. longitude and the bearing and distance of some important landmark. On passage this was usually the last headland seen from which the navigator took his departure and in fact in many cases the D.R. longitude was measured from it. It is quite likely that the *Loo*'s officers would have given in their log books the bearing and distance from the Pan of Matanzas every day while cruising in this area and this would not necessarily imply that it was in sight.

When at 6 p.m. the *Loo* shaped her course for Florida Strait they would have been quite likely to have assumed that they had not moved appreciably since noon and would have laid off their course from that position. Of course they knew about the current—who did not who navigated those waters—but no very definite observations of its direction and velocity had ever been made and they probably just gave Cay Sal an ample berth and left it at that.

Now supposing the original noon position as entered had been 17 leagues N. by W. of the Pan of Matanzas and in the excitement of the chase and the decision to take the prize to Charleston the 1 had somehow been overlooked and dropped. Such errors are not rare in log books I have examined. The error would of course have been easily spotted if they had plotted their course on a chart, but at this date navigators never thought of doing any such thing. Positions were obtained by calculating a traverse and charts were still really only used as illustrations to the Sailing Directions.

Seventeen leagues N. by W. of the Pan brings us to position *E*, about the latitude of 23° 50′, which is the noon latitude I have suggested above as the one they were likely to have been in, while the course actually steered is a likely one from the 7-league position. If this course had been steered from the 17-league position the *Loo* would at 1·15 a.m. have been about five miles W. by S. from Looe Cay at the position *F*,[1] and a combination of all the unknowns and approximations would easily absorb this distance.

In my opinion this is the most probable cause of the accident.

In this discussion I have omitted all thought of the variation of the compass, for we do not know which bearings and courses have been given as *true* and which as *magnetic*, but in any case the variation at this date was only about half a point East and would make little or no difference to the argument.

W. E. MAY

1 For this position the same current has been allowed as for the progress from the 6 p.m. position given by Utting. Actually it would have set them rather more to the east from 9 p.m. and more to the west from midnight as they got within the area of the counter current.

ROBERT DUDLEY BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS OWNED BY JOHN TEMPLE LEADER

I am interested in locating the present owner or owners of books and manuscripts formerly belonging to John Temple Leader (1810–1903), a long-time English resident of Florence who in 1895 published the *Life of Sir Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland* (Florence, G. Barbèra).

Dudley, born in 1574, was the son of the Earl of Leicester and of Lady Douglas Sheffield. Leicester did not acknowledge his son's legitimacy, and although Dudley was well provided for in Leicester's will, he did not inherit his father's title. In 1605, after failing in an effort to establish his legal birth, Dudley left his wife and children, eloped to France with a young cousin, and eventually settled in Florence. There he entered the service of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany as a military and naval architect and engineer. In this service he designed fortifications and harbour works at Leghorn, built ships at Leghorn and Pisa, patented an improvement in the production of silk, took a prominent position in the Medici court, and wrote several unpublished works on marine and military subjects. In 1646–47 he published the *Arcano del Mare*, a treatise in four bulky volumes on shipbuilding, navigation science and cartography. Its second and last edition, in two volumes, was published in 1661, twelve years after his death in 1649. Dudley's titles, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, derive from a 1620 patent of the Emperor Ferdinand.

Mr Leader, in gathering materials for his biography of Dudley, found in Florence, and purchased, a number of Sir Robert's own books, as well as letters and other family documents. To these, as time went on, he added copies of documents preserved in the public libraries and archives of Florence, as well as other materials relating to the Duke and his descendants, the whole comprising, he writes, 'a large mass of documents and letters concerning the Dudley family'.

The following are mentioned specifically:

(1) Dudley's personal copy of the *Arcano del Mare*, Florence, Francesco Onofri, 1646–47, 3 vols., folio:

'Long ago I bought from Signor Pietro Bigazzi, together with many other books which had belonged to Dudley, the first two volumes and the fourth of the *Arcano del Mare*, the first edition of his great work which was published in Florence in 1646–1647. The third volume was wanting, perhaps lent to some friend who had forgotten to return it. Two or more years after this, Signor Bigazzi brought me, as a New Year's gift, the missing volume of this very same incomplete set. He had discovered it on the low wall or ledge of the Palazzo Riccardi, and bought it from the salesman who had permission to sell his books there. . . . The four volumes thus happily reunited after a long separation were in the old binding with the arms of a Cardinal of the Medici family. The third had naturally suffered from ill treatment and exposure on the *muricciuolo* of the Palazzo Riccardi.' (p. 18.)[1]

(2) A copy of the *Arcano del Mare*, Florence, Guiseppe Cocchini, 1661, 2 vols., folio:

'I had previously bought from Signor Bigazzi the two great folio volumes of the second edition of the *Arcano del Mare*, published after Dudley's death.' (p. 19.)

'They are bound in the same coloured leather as the four volumes of the first edition, with a little tooling, but without gilding or coats of arms.' (p. 122.)

(3) The *Direttorio Marittimo* (MS.):

'It seems probable that the *Arcano del Mare* was only a *résumé* of several previous works by Dudley. One of them is the MS. volume, quarto size, of which I possess the original, mostly in Dudley's own hand. It is called the *Direttorio Marittimo*, and was written in very faulty Italian for the use and instruction of the officers of the Tuscan fleet. In it most of the subjects enlarged upon in the *Arcano* are treated concisely, including 'great circle sailing' and all kinds of navigation; the administrative management of a fleet, and its manoeuvres in a naval battle, etc. The book is in ancient covers of thick paper, and preceded by a dedication to the Grand-Duke, and by a sketch of Dudley's own naval life, written in his own hand with all his corrections and underlinings.' (p. 19.)

'The only fragment of title page remaining to it is headed *Direttorio Marittimo di Don Roberto Dudley, Duca di Nortumbria, fatto per ordine del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana suo Signore.*' (p. 32, n. 1.)

(4) Dudley 'family Documents, many of them original, some written by the hand of Robert Dudley himself. . . .' (p. 3.)

(5) 'Pedigrees of the Dudley and Southwell families. . . .' (p. 3.) (Reproduced in facsimile between pp. 134 and 135.)

(6) 'Copies of Letters in the Medicean Archives, and the Archives of State in Florence.' (p. 3) (Among these are the letters reproduced in the Appendix with archival reference numbers.)

(7) 'A large collection of MSS. notes and copies of letters relating to Robert Earl of Leicester' given to Leader by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. (p. 3.)

(8) Dudley's copy of Mauritio Moro's *La Assontione di Maria Vergine et altre Opere. . . .* Venetia, Varischi, 1622. (With dedication to Robert Dudley.) (pp. 21, 115.)

(9) *Habiti delli Duchi et Principi dell'ordine Cesareo armati secondo l'inventione del Signor Duca di Nortumbria.* (MS.) (pp. 103–104.)

Among Dudley documents that Leader made use of but did not himself own was a manuscript now lost but then located in the Library of the Specola, or Museum of Natural History, in Florence. This manuscript he describes as follows:

'About this time [1610] Dudley wrote or began to write his first book on military and naval Architecture, for he always dignifies ship-building by this term. This exists in three large half-bound volumes in manuscript, in the *Specola* or Museum of Natural History, Florence, where

1 One of the volumes contained an inserted manuscript chart of the West Indies by Thomas Hood, reproduced by Kunstmann in the atlas to *Die Entdeckung Amerikas* (1859). (See Waters, D. W., *The Art of Navigation. . .*, New Haven, Yale University, 1958; p. 198, n. 2.)

Dudley's nautical and mathematical instruments are preserved.[1] The first two volumes treat of the building of ships, and were written in English....

'In this rare MS. we find that Dudley heads the first part "First Chapter of my Booke touching the 34 simetries, following: their use and qualleties". It is difficult to say whether Dudley's orthography and diction were more original in writing English or Italian.

'Here is his heading, several years later, to the third volume in Italian: *Il 3^zo volume di Vascelli di Guerra secondo l'inventione di me Duca di Northumbria et della mia esperienza per più di 40 anni. In quale li disegni stesso bastano, senza altro discorso lungo.* The idiom, be it observed, is entirely English, though the words are Italian.

'Here is his own account of the second volume: "The second volume or Tombe (Tome) of my Worke touching Marinarie, and Conteyning 2 Bookes,—the one of the archetecture of all sorte, and of vessels of warre. The other of the fortefiing or ordering of Ports, Invented by R. Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Leycester sole heyre to John, Ducke of Northumberland."..

'The last volume begins: "Haveing written in former times 4 bookes of marinarie, as before mentioned; I thought it most necesserie to finish this fifth being of so great importance, both for strenth of Princes, and saftie of merchante goodes as nothing more utill, as by the discourses following will easely by explayned; especially being a worke not hetherto perfected to anie great purpose (more than vulgarly knowne) by anie, the curiositie whereof made me mor paynfully serch into the debth of this arte and with good succes have accomplished by desiers, and promises by Practes herein, both in the time of Don Ferdinando great Ducke of Toscana of famos memorie as allso by his worthie sonne Don Cosimo now great Ducke of Toscana, from both of them having receaved more favours and obligations then I coulde meritt, or necessarie here to be mentioned and therefore not to diverte the reader from the matter, I will only secure him that whatsoever is conteyned in this worke is different from the orders of all others in these Simetries, as well from those in England as in these other p^ts and not taught me by anie, but invented merely (with God's assistance) by the practise, experiens, and knowledge it hath pleased his Infinite Goodness to imploy in me, and afforde by my Practise, contemplations, and studies herein; and therefor doe desier the practise and imploymente thereof—may be cheafly for God's service to the suppression of all as I intend Infidelitie."' (pp. 60–63.)

Hopefully, there exist among Mr Leader's notes longer excerpts from this lost Dudley manuscript from the Specola.

Leader purchased, and owned for many years, numerous pieces of property in or near Florence. These included the ruined medieval castle of Vincigliata (which he rebuilt and used to house his collection of art objects and antiquities), the Villa Pazzi (now called Il Palagio di Maiano), the Villa Catanzaro, a town house in the Piazza Pitti, and a number of farms and quarries at Maiano. Since his principal residences were Vincigliata and the Villa Pazzi it is probable that his library was kept in one or other of these two buildings, although catalogues describing them and their contents, published during his lifetime, make no mention of important or unusual book and manuscript collections.[2]

Leader died without issue in 1903, and his wife, Maria Louisa di Leoni, widow of Count Antonio di Leoni, died in 1906. Except for charitable bequests, Leader's fortune and property were left to his grandnephew, the third Baron Westbury.[3] The Italian properties were sold—Vincigliata and the Villa Pazzi with all their contents during World War I. All public record and knowledge of the library seem to have vanished. Correspondence has produced no clue to its present whereabouts and ownership.

OLIVER DUNN

1 These instruments are now in the Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence. See its *Catalogo degli Strumenti* (Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1954).

2 *Vincigliata and Maiano* (Florence, G. Barbèra, 1891) and *The Castle of Vincigliata* (Florence, G. Barbèra, 1897), by Leader Scott' (i.e. Lucy E. Baxter). The latter does refer, however, to Leader's recent acquisition of the Rucellai family archives, which included a fifteenth-century manuscript history of the family and of Florence, the *Zibaldone Quadragesimale*, by Bernardo Ruceilai.

3 *Dictionary of National Biography*, Suppl. 1901–11, Art. 'Leader, John Temple'.

INTRODUCTION OF RIGGING SCREWS

In 1874–75 a number of new iron sailing ships were dismasted, and this circumstance caused much disquiet. Many theories were put forward to explain the disasters, some of which were reasonable and others the reverse.

The whole matter was investigated by Lloyd's Register of Shipping and a *Report on Masting* drawn up by Mr W. John, Assistant to Mr B. Martell, Chief Surveyor of Lloyd's Register at the time, was published in 1886.

This work, which contains a great deal of information about the actual circumstances of the dismasting, directed attention to the fundamental considerations governing the design of masts and rigging in the large sailing ships which were built in the years 1874–76. The report remarks that during the years 1868–72 when steam shipping increased very rapidly, the building of sailing ships diminished, but about the end of 1872 it became obvious that owing to the high price of coal and from other causes, sailing ships could compete successfully with steamers in many branches of trade, and a return was made to the building of new iron sailing ships.

These ships were chiefly of large size, about 1600 tons gross, and were heavily rigged for the purpose of making quick passages. They did not carry as much sail in proportion to the displacement as the China clippers but they were about double the size of these ships and consequently carried far greater actual top weight. They were an advance on anything which had preceded them in the merchant marine and, as the report points out, it was perhaps unfortunate that the advance took place so quickly and at a time when the builders were out of practice in fitting out sailing ships. Among the reasons adduced for the casualties were the fitting of double top gallant as well as double top sail yards, the increase in height of the masts and squareness of the yards, and the system of loading adopted which resulted in a high metacentric height to enable the ship to stand up to the force of the wind on a large sail area, but the *Report on Masting* more or less discounted these factors and concentrated on what Mr John considered to be the fundamental matter, the disparity between the rigid iron masts and the fairly flexible shrouds. He showed that if rigging screws were used instead of deadeyes and lanyards a much more compatible system resulted, and in his words 'inducement should be offered to builders and owners to increase the support afforded to the masts, and especially when it is known that so much good can be done in this direction without adding to the top weight by simply reducing the elasticity of the shrouds. Wire rigging set up by screws unquestionably affords the most suitable and efficient support to iron masts, and it is to be hoped that the practice of adopting them which has been growing up lately will extend and become far more general than heretofore.' In this connexion it is of interest to remark that 10 years earlier, in 1875, the Committee of Lloyd's Register noted that in an iron sailing ship of about 1250 tons building by Messrs Barclay, Curle and Co., Whiteinch, Glasgow, an arrangement was made to dispense with lanyards and deadeyes by substituting a screw shown on the accompanying sketch, as greater rigidity would then be afforded to the support of the masts. It was agreed that an introduction tending in that direction merited encouragement. Another novelty in this vessel was that of dispensing with the bowsprit housing and building the bowsprit into the bow of the vessel. This innovation is also worthy of note, for as the report on masting shows, the strength of the bowsprit and its supports had an important bearing on the masting problem.

J. M. MURRAY

CAPTAIN WILLIAM THOMAS, A NAVAL CAPTAIN OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

In his most interesting article in the *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 46, no. 3 (August, 1960), Mr D. E. Kennedy underlines the differences in backgrounds and attitudes of the naval captains at the outbreak of the English Civil War. The career of one of the naval commanders in the fleet of

Parliament during the Civil War, who is not mentioned in the article (as he was not in command at the outbreak of the war) illustrates the validity of Kennedy's main conclusions. Yet Captain William Thomas does not quite fall into any of the groups which Kennedy has traced, possibly because certain aspects of his career still remain obscure.

William Thomas probably went to sea first in the company of his uncle, Sir Thomas Button. He was the son of Button's sister, Mary, who had married William Thomas of Moulton, Glamorganshire, a man of substance in the county, and a neighbour of the Button family.[1] By the marriages which so closely linked the county families of those days, William Thomas was therefore related not only to Sir Thomas Button, but also to Sir Robert Mansell and Captain Henry Stradling, all of whom were prominent in the Navy, and are referred to in Mr Kennedy's article. One of the constant complaints against Button was that of nepotism, and it is certain that many of his relatives went to sea with him. Among them were his nephew John Button who wrote the eye witness account of Mansell's voyage to Algiers now in the Public Record Office.[2] Another nephew, Edmund Button, was John Pennington's lieutenant in 1625, and, having been recommended for a command by Pennington, was captain of the *Alathea* on the East Coast late that year.[3] In March 1627, Pennington and Sir John Watts certified that William Thomas was competent for captain,[4] and it was about this time that he took command of the collier, the *Joan* of London, which served with the *Antelope*, Sir Thomas Button's ship, on the Irish coast. In February 1628 the Commissioners of the Navy complained that Button, 'merely for continuing his kinsman in employment', refused to allow the *Joan* to return as ordered to London for refitting.[5] Button, a very close friend of Mansell, Sir John Trevor, Surveyor of the Navy, and Phineas Pett in the Jacobean days of high corruption,[6] was no doubt regarded with considerable suspicion by Buckingham and the Commissioners of the Navy, and William Thomas may have been equally disliked and distrusted.

In the following year, the Navy Commissioners had an opportunity of gaining their revenge. Button in the *Convertive*, with Thomas as his lieutenant, took a Dunkirker, the *St John*, and sent his prize into Bristol under the command of Captain Thomas. After a protracted dispute over the claims of Button for his share and that of his crew, and the counter accusations regarding the embezzlement of the prize cargo by Captain Thomas and others before it was handed over at Bristol, Thomas was imprisoned. It was alleged in the charges finally brought against Button a few months before his death that 'being imployed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on the Coast of Ireland he left his charge and his Mties shippe wherein he commanded to a Lieutenant contrarie to the dutie of his said place, That he putt into that his place and command Captayne William Thomas, whom their Lordships formerly forbad him to imploy anie more in the King's service for that he had tortured the Commander of a prize called the St John of Dunkirke.'[7] It was further alleged that Thomas had seized another valuable ship belonging to Nutt, the pirate, which 'being carried to the sea by Cap^{n} Thomas was cast away and made no worth 250 l at moste'. After a lengthy imprisonment in the Marshalsea without trial, Thomas petitioned for his release, which was eventually granted on payment of a considerable sum as bail.[8] Throughout Thomas protested his innocence, and Sir Thomas Button wrote vigorous letters stating that he believed his nephew 'to be an Honest man and knowe he had some honest men with hym that would not be the Actors of so dishonest things'.[9]

After years of vainly chasing the more nimble Dunkirkers, it would not be surprising if William Thomas and his associates were in fact guilty of some of the above charges when at last they caught a pirate, but however just or unjust his imprisonment, it appears that this ensured that

1 *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1862, p. 192; Bywgraffiadur (*Welsh Dictionary of National Biography*), pp. 54, 576.

2 P.R.O., SP. 14/122.

3 *C.S.P.D.*, 1626/7, p. 88; 1625/6, p. 285.

4 *C.S.P.D.*, 1626/7, p. 88.

5 *C.S.P.D.*, 1627/8, p. 565.

6 For Pett's connexion with the Welshmen, see *Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, ed. Perrin, N.R.S., vol. 51, pp. lviii, 34, 37, 67, 95, 112, 133–5.

7 P.R.O., SP. 16/228/119; SP. 16/215/43; *C.S.P.D.* 1629/31, p. 145.

8 P.R.O., SP. 16/228/25a; SP. 16/264/28.

9 P.R.O., SP. 16/215/80.

Captain William Thomas no longer served the Navy of the King. For the next six or seven years he may well have gone to sea in merchant vessels, and come under the influence of that 'coterie of merchant seamen and shipowners who after 1642 served in Parliament's Navy both afloat and ashore'.[1] He had possibly left his native Glamorganshire some years previously, in fact, for in 1621 a William Thomas of Stepney, Mariner, married Olive Chettleborough of St Mary Whitechapel, widow of John Chettleborough, Chandler, at St Mary Whitechapel.[2]

The issue is complicated here in that there were, in fact, two William Thomases, both of whom served with Button and later served Parliament. In addition to his nephew and lieutenant whose career has already been described, Button recommended a William Thomas to be purser of the *Antelope* in February 1626.[3] In 1630 this William Thomas was serving as purser aboard the *Convertive* now commanded by Button's successor, Captain Richard Plumleigh.[4] Unlike his namesake, this William Thomas remained in naval service, and in 1634 Plumleigh recommended his honest and diligent service as purser aboard various ships under his command, and later that year he was appointed purser of a new ship at Deptford.[5] It would appear fairly certain that this William Thomas served Parliament at Bristol in 1643 as victualler of the ships on the Irish Station.[6]

In 1639 the *Mary* of London was engaged in transporting gunpowder to the Downs for 'the use of the Spanish ships that lay there'[7] and for the next few years she seems to have been employed regularly as a pinnace attending the fleet. Her master and owner was William Thomas. Was this Sir Thomas Button's nephew? If the submission that, following his imprisonment in the 'thirties, he left the naval service and became a member of the London merchant seamen community is correct, it seems plausible that he commanded and owned the *Mary*; furthermore, when the need arose for experienced captains to command ships in the fleet following the removal of those with Royalist sympathies, at the approach of the Civil War, Thomas, like the other merchant captains, was willing to serve as captain of the *Eighth Whelp* in Warwick's fleet.[8] Unlike his kinsmen, Mansell and Stradling, who had remained secure in the royal favour, Thomas had every reason to remember what he considered to be his shabby treatment and unjust imprisonment about ten years previously, and had no reasons for remaining loyal to the Crown. Moreover, he was not the only one of the Button connexion to side with Parliament. Although Miles Button, Sir Thomas's son, remained loyal to the King, his sisters Elizabeth and Ann were married to John Poyer and Rowland Laugharne respectively, two of the most prominent leaders on the side of Parliament in South Wales in the First Civil War.

In June 1643 the Parliament's press reported 'Good news from the sea', Captain William Thomas's account of his fight in the *Eight Whelp* with 'Captain Polhill, Admiral of Falmouth, near into Brest', and the capture of Polhill's ship, the *Mayflower*, which was brought in, much damaged, to Stokes Bay.[9] Thomas was himself slightly wounded in this action, but early in 1644 he was again successful, for, in company with Captain Jordan, he seized 'four prizes of good value' belonging to the Earl of Marlborough.[10] It was not therefore surprising that he was promoted to the command of the *Warwick Frigate* in the Summer fleet of 1644,[11] despite the fact that he was alleged to have been involved with others in plundering the house of Giles Greene, killing 'divers of his Ewes and Lambes', and carrying away other belongings of the Commissioner of the Navy.[12] In July 1644, lying in Torbay in company with Captain Ellis (Ellison?) in the

1 *M.M.*, Vol. 46, no. 3, p. 194.
2 *Marriage Licences Granted by Bishop of London* (Harleian Soc. 1887), p. 96.
3 *C.S.P.D.*, 1626/7, p. 259. 4 *C.S.P.D.*, 1629/31, p. 362.
5 *C.S.P.D.*, 1633/4, p. 438.
6 Bodleian. Rawlinson MSS. A 220; *C.S.P.D.*, 1641/3, p. 468; *C.S.P.D.*, 1645/7, p. 607.
7 *C.S.P.D.*, 1640, p. 337. Thomas was in fact an eye witness of the action between the Spanish and the Dutch.
8 G. Penn, *Memories of Sir William Penn*, 2 vols. (1833), vol. 1, p. 66.
9 British Museum, *Thomason Tracts*. B.M. E 561.
10 *House of Commons Journals*, vol. 3, p. 431. 11 B.M. 669, fo. 8.
12 *H.C.J.*, vol. 3, p. 541.

Providence, Thomas had a brush with De Witt and three of his ships, forcing them to strike after an exchange of shots, and early in 1645 he reported taking a number of vessels and landing some of his men to assist the Garrison at Plymouth.[1] August 1645 saw Thomas in the *Warwick* supporting the land forces in the Pembrokeshire campaign, where no doubt his previous service with Sir Thomas Button stood him in good stead; he was later commended by Button for his capture of a French vessel 'to the sea bord of the Iland of Lundee'.[2] Thomas's name does not occur in the Summer Fleet of 1646, when the *Warwick* was commanded by Captain James Peacock,[3] but in December 1646 Captain Penn and Thomas were ordered 'to ply about Land's End, Scilly, Wexford and Waterford rivers'.[4] Thomas was now in command of the *Nonsuch* and early in the next year he was reported to have taken another prize.[5] About this time, however, there is some evidence of his having wished (or being asked), to relinquish his command,[6] and he was eventually replaced in the *Nonsuch* by Richard Willoughby who had successfully commanded the *Globe* in the same Squadron as Penn and Thomas.

In common with many of his fellow captains in the Fleet of Parliament, Moulton and Swanley among them, William Thomas had a number of vessels of which he was part owner which were hired by Parliament during the Civil War. He received payments for the service of his ships *Lucy* and *Golden Falcon*,[7] and it seems probable that by this time he was fairly wealthy. In September 1643, William Thomas of Limehouse was assessed at £150, which was in fact respited, 'till he comes home from the service, he being captain of the *Eighth Whelp* under the Earl of Warwick, and large sums being due to him from the Navy'.[8] But by October 1646 Captain William Thomas of Lyme Street was assessed at £1000, although no proceedings were actually taken at that date.[9] There are many references to payments to him for various services between 1643 and 1649, but it is probable that in common with other London merchant seamen he had left the service before the Second Civil War. In his case there may have been additional reasons for his non-employment in the Parliament's service: his family connexions with the Glamorganshire gentry who were prominent in the Second Civil War in South Wales may have led to suspicions regarding the advisability of his being employed in the waters off the Welsh coast, particularly as his kinsfolk were among the ringleaders in Pembrokeshire.[10] Whatever the reason, Thomas did not again serve in the Navy.

Linked by birth with the sea-going gentry of Glamorganshire, brought up in a school of seamanship which went back to the days of Elizabeth, and nurtured on tales of the North West Passage and campaigns in the West Indies and the Mediterranean, William Thomas's own experience of the Navy reached back at least to the early days of Charles I. His own imprisonment, and the sorry experiences of his uncle, Sir Thomas Button who died virtually penniless after a lifetime of service in the Navy of the Stuarts, no doubt hastened Thomas into the ranks of the merchant seamen of Thames-side. Possibly unscrupulous, and headstrong, with his background and range of naval and merchant service, it is not surprising that Captain William Thomas was one of the most successful of the captains of the English Civil War.

ALED EAMES

1 *C.S.P.D.*, 1625, 49, Addenda, p. 672.
2 *H.M.C. Portland*, Vol. I, p. 255.
3 B.M. 669, fo. 9 (58).
4 Penn, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 228.
5 *Ibid.* p. 234.
6 *Ibid.* p. 235.
7 Rawlinson, A 224/11, 42, 105.
8 Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money. Domestic, 1642/56, part I, p. 255.
9 *Ibid.* part II, p. 734.
10 For South Wales in Second Civil War, see J. F. Rees, *Studies in Welsh History*, and Leach, *The Civil War in Pembroke*. I have been unable to trace the career of his cousin and contemporary, Edmund Button, after the 1620's when he was captain of the *Alathea*, but an Edmund Button was reported killed when in command of the *Sampson* at the Battle of Kentish Knock, 28 September 1652, cf. Dr R. C. Anderson, 'English Fleet Lists in the First Dutch War', *Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. XXIV, 1938, p. 429. I have also failed to obtain any details regarding Captain William Thomas's dates of birth and death. I should be grateful for any information regarding Thomas or any of the Welshmen in the Navy of the Early Stuarts.

A FORGOTTEN NAVAL BATTLE

In a Note headed 'A Forgotten Naval Battle' in the August 1960 number of *The Mariner's Mirror*, p. 214, the writer, Mr K. G. Tregonning, says 'there is no account of it in naval history that I can unearth'.

The action he refers to is that of H.M. Ships *Greyhound* and *Harrier* with several Dutch vessels in the Eastern seas in the year 1806.

There is an account of this action in James's *Naval History*, Vol. IV, p. 162.

C. H. WILLIAMS

A MATTER OF CRITICISM

The following criticism of an article in the *M.M.* for January 1913 is quoted from a post-card sent to Laughton, then editor, by his father, Sir John Laughton. The article appeared under the pseudonym 'Olaf Hartelie' and was entitled 'Extra Illustrating'.

'I dont know who O.H. may be, but he is somewhat ignorant of naval biography. I thought everybody knew the story of Admiral Sternpost. It is repeated in *D.N.B.* The 'Valiant Commander' is clearly Macbride, who had then just captured the *Comte d'Artois* off Cork. He was of Scottish family settled in the north of Ireland, but was not Scottish by birth. The "Intrepid Commodore" is of course George Johnstone. Any fool ought to have known that.'

The amusing thing about this is that 'Olaf Hartelie' was actually Commander C. N. Robinson, naval correspondent of *The Times*, author of several books on the history of the navy and its personnel and generally considered an authority on naval portraiture. It also confirms what Oppenheim told me long ago, that Sir John Laughton was a 'bruiser in controversy', though in this case his criticism seems to have been justified. The article in the *D.N.B.* was, by the way, by Sir John Laughton himself.

R. C. ANDERSON

NOTE ON 'BARROW FLATS'

In *The Merchant Schooners* I described the 'Irish Sea' or 'Lancashire' stern which was built into many schooners launched between Connah's Quay and the Solway Firth. This stern was pointed, with the rudder 'out of doors', as the west country expression had it. Sometimes the rudder head was enclosed by a small 'counter' which was no more than an extension of the bulwarks. This was done particularly in the ships built by Thomas Asburner and Company of Barrow, such as the schooners *Useful*, *M. E. Johnson* and *Isabella*, but other builders also finished off their schooners in this way. Thus the *Millom Castle* built by William White of Ulverston in 1870 had the little counter.

Mr Douglas Bennet who was personally acquainted with many of the schooners surviving before the Second World War has recently put forward a general theory to account for the 'Irish Sea Stern'. He suggests that it developed because when schooner building became profitable on a large scale on the Lancashire and adjacent coasts in the middle of the last century the first builders were men who had previously worked on the flats of the Weaver and the Mersey, which were double ended, for working through locks, and shallow, for canal and river work. Mr Bennet suggested that this hull form was gradually developed until with prosperity and experience some of the late schooner builders such as Thomas Asburner and Ferguson and Baird of Connah's Quay gave up the pointed stern in some of their later vessels and built beautiful counters on to them instead, retaining the light draft and flat floors of their lock-frequenting ancestors.

I put this theory to Captain W. J. Slade of Bideford who had great experience of the type as master and part owner of the schooner *Millom Castle*. He spoke of vessels of this type with the diminutive counter stern as 'Barrow Flats', which appears to have been the Appledore expression for them. They had, he said, certain great advantages in the coasting trade over the deeper,

sharper, counter sterned west country and Welsh built schooners and ketches. Among these advantages were:

(*a*) They had practically no drag and consequently you could lay them on the ground anywhere without much list. On the average they drew 9 ft. 6 in. forward and 10 ft. aft. *Millom Castle* drew 10 ft. 6 in. aft and 9 ft. 6 in. forward. The west country built ketch *Haldon*, by way of contrast, drew 9 ft. forward an 11 ft. aft. A 'Barrow Flat' could be laid alongside a jetty, and there was hardly any necessity to watch the fenders. West country vessels with a deep heel took the ground aft as the tide ebbed and the bow tended to move off while it was still afloat, thus putting all the weight on the after fenders, perhaps damaging the bulwarks and tending to twist and strain the vessel. This was always a nightmare with their crews. It was a product of the sharp hull, 'high in the floors', as the Appledore expression was.

(*b*) They were of shallow draft, 9–10 ft, instead of anything up to 13 ft. as the west country built vessels were for the same weight of cargo.

(*c*) Most of them could sail without ballast, and this was a very great advantage indeed.

(*d*) They were very handy under sail both light and loaded. For example, the *Millom Castle* once beat up through the 'Shutes' in the River Severn with no ballast and with three rolls in her mainsail and never once missed stays.

(*e*) They were good sea boats. Captain Slade in all his years in the *Millom Castle*, including the great gale described in chapter 4 of his book *Out of Appledore*, never once saw water come in through the hole in the stern bulwarks where the rudder head came in. There was no weight to carry aft side the sternpost, which made them light aft. A west country built vessel he knew intimately, the ketch *Ulelia*, on the other hand, although she was a fast vessel with many good qualities, would not heave to. She had to be head reached in bad weather, i.e. a little way had to be kept on her all the time or else she 'shrammed' her counter stern down very heavily on the water. She was always giving trouble in her stern lockers. There was never any such trouble in a 'Barrow Flat'.

(*f*) They were cheap to build and economical to maintain and they were very strong, a quality which followed partly on their relatively simple shape. The *Millom Castle*, for instance, never changed shape in 61 years of hard work.

'Barrow Flats', according to Captain Slade, had one great disadvantage. As they got old and leaky they tended to 'blow the bilge', that is, the bilge water had to go somewhere when the vessel rolled and, since it could not dissipate itself, as could the bilge in west country vessels, in the sharp place below the ceiling, it was forced up between the ceiling and the outside planks above the turn of the bilge into a more confined space, and it was forced out of the seams of the ceiling, to the detriment of dry cargoes. 'Barrow Flats' had the further disadvantage that they tended to be slower than west country built vessels.

Captain Slade commented that many west-coast north-country vessels tended to be shallower and flatter than those of the south-west. He quoted the *Gleaner*, schooner, and the schooner, later ketch, *Elizabeth Jane*, both built at Chester, and some of the ships built by Paul Rogers at Carrickfergus for north-country owners as examples.

In his view the 'Barrow Flat' was an altogether more practical proposition on the coast than the west country type, so that the later-built vessels tended to be more and more of her type. Thus the Connah's Quay built *Kathleen & May* of 1900 had many of the 'Barrow Flat' characteristics, with the traditional counter stern added. This counter stern was a legacy of an earlier period. It had been built into the *Agnes Craig* and the *Earl Cairns*, built at the same yard years before, but these were deeper, sharper vessels. This view, which is supported by the independent opinion of Captain Tom Jewell, master and owner of the *Kathleen & May*, is something of a qualification of Mr Bennet's hypothesis.

Given all these facts Captain Slade was inclined very tentatively to put forward a very general theory of the development of the hull form of schooners in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was as follows:

In the south-west of England there was a very strong tradition of deep-sea sailing in the small ports, stemming from the past history of the Mediterranean and Atlantic trades. These trades

were highly competitive and to be successful in them vessels had to be fast, particularly by the the wind. This quality mattered more than cargo capacity or ability to take the ground easily. So from the trading smacks and other sources the west country hull form was developed. Many of the later schooners and ketches were built for the deep-water trades. Those that were not were influenced by local history.

In the north-west there was not such a strong tradition of deep-sea sailing and when the area developed industrially a type of vessel came into being and became traditional all the way from Amlwch to the Solway Firth which was altogether a better proposition for the coasting trade than the west country schooners were. Among the sources from which she sprang may well have been the Mersey and Weaver flats and the other small vessels of the coast, so different in their hull from the west country cargo smacks.

Speaking very generally indeed, therefore, according to Captain Slade's theory the merchant schooners of the west coast of England might be divided into two principal types, as described above, the west country and the north country, the one basically a deep-sea and the other basically a coasting vessel. Hundreds of west country type vessels, of course, made a good living on the coast. Some almost extreme examples, like the *Rhoda Mary* and the *Katie Cluett*, were highly successful. And some north country vessels like the *Snowflake* were very successful on deep water. But the very general distinction might be considered to remain.

BASIL GREENHILL

QUERIES

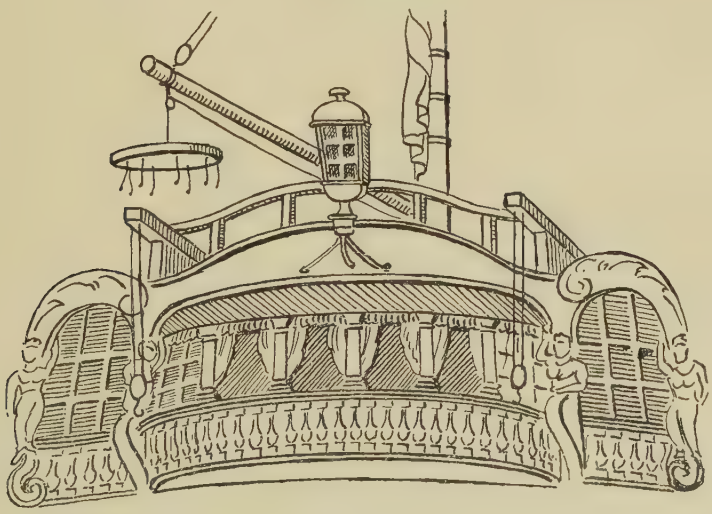


Fig. 1. Embarquement de Bonaparte à bord du *Bellerophon*, Raugean.

7. (1961.) An obscure object. The sketch above is taken from a French engraving of the embarkation of Napoleon in the *Bellerophon*. Can any member say what was the curious thing slung from the mizzen boom?

C. M. BLACKMAN

8. (1961.) Meaning of 'skybar'. During the course of my research on English relations with an Indian power, Haidar Ali Khan of Mysore (1760–82), I came across a word 'skybar' in connexion with his navy. I have not been able to find a meaning of this term, and I should be very grateful for any information on this obscure term.

An example of the text in which the word appears is this: Eloy Jose Peixto, a Portuguese, a contemporary and a historian of the said Haidar Ali Khan, says that Haidar's navy consisted of 80 vessels, 13 top sail vessels, several manchooes of war, many *skybars* and small craft for the transport of war materials. This information is cited in P. C. Alexander's *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 79.

B. S. ALI

9. (1961.) First yacht voyage across the Atlantic. In his *The History of Yachting*, Arthur H. Clark mentions the first yacht voyage across the Atlantic, that of the yacht *Lively* in 1784. 'Owned by Mr Shutleworth, who also owned a beautiful villa on the Thames' she was 140 tons and carried a crew of 25. 'This voyage occupied about fourteen months. During which he cruised from the coast of Florida to Hudson Bay, and entertained George Washington while in the Delaware; a beautiful French woman and several professional men sailed with him.'

Clark does not support this statement with any evidence, and none has been found in the usual sources. What is known about the *Lively*, Mr Shutleworth, the voyage?

10. (1961.) First solo trans-Atlantic crossing. In his *The History of Yachting*, Arthur H. Clark mentions what would be the first solo trans-Atlantic crossing in a boat if his mention were supported by any evidence. He tells of a Captain Josiah Shackford of Portsmouth, N.H., who departed from Bordeaux toward Surinam *c.* 1787 in a 15-ton sloop with a crew of two men and a dog. The crew proved to be harbour sailors and they were dismissed. 'Happily rid of these useless Abraham men, Shackford and his dog continued their voyage in peace, arriving at Surinam —a distance of about 3600 miles—in thirty-five days.'

What documentation is there to support this voyage?

RICHARD GORDON MCCLOSKEY

ANSWERS

18. (1957.) Monk's 'left wheel'. Reference to this episode is made in *Fights for the Flag* (W. H. Fitchett, 1921, p. 6):

'It is said that Monck, who was another "admiral in spurs", in the middle of an action sent a shout of laughter round his own decks by giving the order, "Wheel to the left".'

Unfortunately, no source is given for this statement. On the other hand, Dr Anderson considers that this book may have been the work he had in mind.

JOHN BENNELL

8. (1959.) International code flags. Captain Frederick Marryat's famous *Code of Signals for the Merchant Service* was founded in 1817, and the author was careful to arrange his flags so that they did not clash with any designs already in use in the Royal Navy. To ensure maximum visibility the flags were not only of contrasting colours but also distinctive in shape; thus two were burgees or swallow-tails, two were triangular and six were rectangular. There were some extras including a few pendants. When the *Commercial Code* was instituted in 1857 the committee had the good sense to adopt or adapt fifteen of Marryat's designs. It will be remembered that the original *Commercial Code* (afterwards the *International Code*) contained only eighteen alphabetical flags because the vowels and *X*, *Y* and Z were not represented. The red burgee of Marryat's range was allotted to *B*, and his pendants to *C*, *D*, *F* and *G*, while square flags composed the rest of the set. All four-letter groups beginning with *B* were from the geographical list, representing names of places, etc. At the revision of the code in 1901 it had been arranged to complete the alphabet by including the vowels and the rest of the consonants. *E* was made a pendant so as to conform with the shapes of *C* to *G*, and *A* was made another swallow-tail, to increase the geographical range and support the convention that every four-letter group headed by a burgee was known automatically to indicate the name of a place. At the last revision of the

code in 1931 it was decided to transfer the pendants to a new numerical range, and to replace these five pieces by square flags of entirely new pattern. From 1931, then, all the alphabeticals were made square with the exception of the burgees *A* and *B*. Not even for the sake of uniformity were additional new rectangular flags substituted for the two burgees.

H. P. MEAD

23. (1959.) Commissions in the Royal Navy. A soldier friend has drawn my attention to the Introduction to Sir John Fortescue's *Six British Soldiers* wherein he says 'Now if the Army be the King's Army, as undoubtedly it is, the Navy is not the King's Navy. The status of the two services is not the same: and the fact was clearly explained to the House of Commons by Sir James Graham in 1842. "The Sovereign (such was the purport of his utterance) delegates to the Admiralty the entire authority and command over the Navy. In the Army the reverse is the case. The Crown does not surrender to the Commander-in-Chief any part of its prerogative in respect of the Army.... Her Majesty exerts no direct control over the Admiralty."... The very wording of military and naval commissions is sufficient to show it. The King mildly delegates authority to a subaltern in the Army....The Admiralty abruptly demands from an officer obedience to itself, "as you will answer the contrary at your peril". The military commission is an expression of confidence: the naval commission is a positive threat. And this is characteristic of the Admiralty which was always imperious and overbearing towards all other departments. Naval officers, taking their cue from their chiefs, displayed the like arrogance....'

I have recently gone through the various commissions of an officer in Queen Victoria's reign, from Mate to Admiral of the Fleet (a V.C. and G.C.B.) without finding a single signature of Her Majesty. Did she sign the Commissions of officers of the R.M.A. and R.M.L.I.? Were naval commissions signed by the Sovereign prior to Queen Victoria and why did King Edward and his successors do so?

C. M. BLACKMAN

22. (1960.) Johannes Specht. According to a newspaper article[1] reporting about small brass cannon recently acquired by the Rotterdam Historical Museum, Johannes Specht (1700–51) was a brass-founder, living at Rotterdam.

In addition to the cannon, which is dated 1740, the Historical Museum possesses a chandelier, dated 1709, a bell (not a ship's bell), dated 1748, and a mortar, dated 1751, all made by the Specht family. The Spechts also exported their products, and in Paisley Abbey, Scotland, there is a bell made in 1730.

Probably the articles turned out by the Specht brass-works still had Johannes's name on them for some years after his death, for only in 1763 it is stated that his cousin Arnout Specht was his sole heir.

The Maritime Museum 'Prins Hendrik' possesses another eighteenth-century ship's bell, with the inscription 'Bakker, Rotterdam, anno 1757'. It was recovered by a dredger off Lagos bar, Nigeria, in 1923. Bakker was another brass-founder.

If these bells were really ship's bells and not mere articles of export, perhaps the interesting conclusion may be drawn that Dutch eighteenth-century ship's bells did not have the ship's name engraved on them, but the name of the founder. This makes them lose much of their individual character, I think, for such a bell might be used in any ship as long as the bell would live.

I failed to trace the relation between the Gorleston bell and a ship from Rotterdam. Assuming that it was intended for a ship of rather large tonnage I looked up a list of men-of-war built by the Rotterdam Admiralty in the eighteenth century. I found that there were no men-of-war built in Rotterdam between 1752 and 1758.

The Amsterdam Admiralty had five ships added to the fleet.

There were four East Indiamen built in Holland in 1755. One of these, the *Vrouw Elizabeth*, belonged to our city. She made nine voyages to the East Indies and was broken up in 1777. We have no evidence relating to West Indiamen and smaller vessels.

Among the ships taken by the English at Camperdown in October 1797 three were from Rotterdam: the *Delft*, 54, *Wassenaar*, 64, and *Hercules*, 66/64. There is a (very small) chance

1 See *Trouw*, 12 March 1959.

that the Gorleston bell once belonged to the *Hercules*, for this vessel was brought into Yarmouth, renamed *Delft* (the original *Delft* had sunk when being towed to an English port) and put into service as a block ship at that port. The *Hercules* however was not built until 1781. Perhaps she got the bell second-hand?

E. W. PETREJUS

REVIEWS

Forum Navale, No. 16. Uppsala, 1960.

A notice of No. 13 in this Swedish series of small publications appeared in 1958, the subject being the experiences of two Swedish officers serving in a British man-of-war on the American station in 1775–76. The first part of No. 16 is even more definitely of English interest, since it is concerned with the log book kept and illustrated by a 15-year-old midshipman aboard H.M.S. *Leopard* in 1854–55, first up the Baltic and afterwards in the Black Sea. We are given a number of the drawings from both theatres of war, but the accompanying narrative is based almost entirely on a small book published as late as 1892 by the ship's commanding officer, George Giffard. The *Leopard* took part in nearly all the more important operations in both years and her captain's reminiscences add a good deal to the usual story.

The second part is written round two letters from the commander of the 'cutter-brig' *Alexander* in the Swedish coastal flotilla in 1790 to his English wife, the first in English, the second mainly in Swedish. These contain a good account of events as far as the escape of the Swedish fleet from Viborg Bay and would have made an appropriate addition to the Navy Records Society's recent volume on Trevenen.

R. C. ANDERSON

British Naval Dress. By Dudley Jarrett. Dent. 10 × 6¼ *inches; colour frontispiece;* 86 *half-tone plates;* 19 *line drawings;* 148 *pages; index.* Price 35*s.* net.

'Dress regulations', says Mr Jarrett, 'now occupy more than sixty pages of an Appendix to the Navy List. In 1767, when concerned only with officers, they were written in less than three hundred words.' It is the span between the days of Anson, one of the principal sponsors of a uniform for sea officers, and the present time, which engages the author's attention. It has led him to produce order among a bewildering variety of regulations and changes, and he has outlined the whole evolution of naval dress, illustrating his story with a number of portraits of exceptional interest, and, where appropriate, with drawings of an admirable clarity.

That being said, and gratefully acknowledged, the author could add immensely to the value of any future edition by a quite simple expedient. He could give a page or two to small drawings illustrating on the same page the main changes in the uniforms of few principal ranks—say captains, lieutenants, petty officers and men dressed as seamen—so that the curious could see at a glance what has in fact taken place. Meanwhile, for everyone interested in the subject of dress, this is a mine of good matter, and nothing essential is left out. Mr Jarrett has consulted the best sources, and he can be trusted.

Nor is humour lacking: speaking, for instance, of the naval chaplain's apparel of the nineteenth century the author says: 'His head-gear is limited but select. He may wear a tall black silk hat, a clerical felt or a college cap.' Nine pages further on, the cap is spelt 'collage' and by that time the reader will probably had worked out that what was actually indicated was a 'square' or mortar-board, which the comedians have now rendered into a stock 'property', not a variegated cap with perhaps harlequin colours and a badge above the peak.

It is odd that nothing on this scale should have been done before. The result is most useful and pleasing.

OLIVER WARNER

Tramp Shipping. By Hector Gripaios. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 9 × 6½ *inches;* 156 *pages.* Price 25*s.* net.

The volume under review is one of a series called Nelson's Nautics, general editor A. C. Hardy, and if they are all on the same lines, though somewhat technical, they are evidently meant to be read by the layman as well as those professionally interested in the running and working of ships of all kinds.

This books starts by giving the development of Tramp shipping and then goes on to describe the various trades and the general organization both of the coasting trade and deep sea. There is also a chapter on contemporary problems, which is of interest as showing that though some ship owners may have amassed fortunes in the past, it does not look as if it would be so easy to do so in the future.

Anyone who reads this book with understanding should have a much greater conception when he or she has finished it, of the difficulties and risks, which today beset those who try and make a living, not a fortune, out of tramp ship owning.

H. O. HILL

British Shipping. By R. H. Thornton. Cambridge University Press. 1959. 5¼ × 8¼ *inches;* 274 *pages;* 25 *illustrations.* Price 21*s.*

This is the second edition of a book that first appeared about twenty years ago and has now been largely re-written and brought up to date. Its author has spent his working life in the shipping industry and is able to give a clear and interesting account of the commercial and political problems which those engaged in sea-borne trade have to face and overcome. In spite of the somewhat gloomy view given in the preface, the book shows that British Shipping is still a robust and sturdy industry, standing on its own feet and without Government assistance.

Part I, which contains seven chapters, is a historical survey of the mercantile marine from the times of strict protection of our trade by Navigation Acts and the great monopolist trading concern the Honourable East India Company, through the days of the fast sailing clipper ships, the coming of steam-ships and finally the present-day motor ships. There is a chapter on the evils of economic nationalism, and one on the effects of the cold war. This chapter on the cold war is particularly illuminating. One point comes out strongly in the book; it is that shipowning is certainly not as easy as it looks. Companies formed of clever people with no shipping experience are almost sure to fail. The steamer *Great Eastern* was a case in point. The author describes with humour the building, launching and career of this famous failure. At the end of Part I, referring to the great benefits to world trade furnished by efficient shipping services, Mr Thornton remarks, 'Statesmen attend innumerable conferences and with equal frequency are exposed to flashbulbs and interviews as they leave their aeroplanes. They have little to report; nor has one of them, to my knowledge, ever permitted himself a graceful reference to the fact that, with no assistance from politicians and by the application of nothing but common sense and sound professional principles, Europe has had for forty years a fleet of cosmopolitan tramps working on identical contracts, and an integrated pattern of liner schedules serving collectively and impartially all its major ports. In short the one thing Europe has got and does not seem even to know it, is its European mercantile marine.'

Part II is composed of eleven chapters dealing with the present-day owning and operating of ships. As with Part I, all these chapters are well worth reading and will be enjoyed by anyone connected with or interested in shipping. Chapter IX, 'Sea Carriage', is very informative. Ancient laws and practices that are still in use are clearly explained. A book of this sort must of course contain some statistics, but these are not numerous and are so neatly 'rove in' to the story as not to be a bore. Some of the figures are astonishing. For instance, the annual sea-borne movement of oil is now 350 million tons, and 25 million tons of grain is annually shipped from the great producing countries. No other form of transport could possibly carry such quantities over such great distances in so short a time. Among the great variety of cargoes carried by sea the

author lists several that most of us will never have heard of; cardamons, agar-agar, arrack, soy, condurango, algarobilla, daphnia and dragon's blood. Most seamen and probably many passengers will agree with the statement that to design the interior decoration of liners to look like hotels ashore is a 'silly fallacy'. Chapters in Part II that are of particular interest to seamen are numbers XIV, XV and XVI ('The Men', 'Watch Keepers', and 'The Voyage'). In connexion with the manning of merchant ships, the working of the National Maritime Board is described, and it is noted that due to the sensible and co-operative work of this board the seafaring part of the industry has had 36 consecutive years without a strike. In describing the sun and star navigational observations made by the bridge watch-keeping officers the author has made a few technical errors. Also, one cannot quite agree with the remarks about 'bucko mates' in the days of sail. They were never common in British deep-water ships.

However, such small details are of no consequence in a book written with such knowledge and humour and of such general excellence throughout. Readers will discover that shipowning and operating is a very much alive and professional business. All who hold posts of responsibility in the shipping industry, whether ashore or afloat, should certainly read the book. Perhaps an index would have been useful, but that is just a matter of opinion. *British Shipping* can be confidently recommended.

C. H. WILLIAMS

Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en Raden aan Heeren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Deel I, 1610–1638. Edited by Dr W. Ph. Coolhaas. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien, Grote Serie, 104. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1960. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ *inches*; xxiv + 782 *pages*.

The editor of these despatches from the Governors-General in Council in the Dutch East Indies to the Court of Directors in the Netherlands (the so-called *Heeren, XVII*), explains in his introduction that only about a sixteenth of the available manuscript material can be printed in the ten volumes (of some 800 pages each) which have been allotted to this series. He has thus been faced with a very invidious task in selecting and pruning his material, but the way in which he has done so commands our admiration. Naturally enough, he has omitted what is already in print in such standard and well documented publications as the *Opkomst* of De Jonge (13 vols., 1862–88), the *Bouwstoffen* of Thiele and Heeres (3 vols., 1886–95), the *Dagh-Registers int Casteel Batavia*, 1624–1682 (31 vols., 1887–1931), and his own monumental work continuing that of Colenbrander on Jan Pietersz-Coen (7 vols., 1919–53). As the period covered in this first volume has already attracted many writers in the Netherlands who have covered various aspects pretty thoroughly since De Jonge started the ball rolling in 1862, Dr Coolhaas has also been able to cut or to telescope his original material very drastically in such cases. He has therefore given lengthy extracts which have never been printed before, and corrected the tendency of the majority of his predecessors, who concentrated on political or military developments in what is now Indonesia, by devoting sufficient space to economic developments and to the Dutch East India Company's activities in the Indian Ocean regions. The despatches, or the extracts, which are printed in full are linked together with a brief synopsis or commentary where necessary, and the annotation is thorough without being obtrusive. There are excellent indexes of personal, geographical and ships' names, as well as of other terms. In short, the editing leaves nothing to be desired and the book is printed and produced in conformity with the high standards of the RGP historical series. From the maritime history point of view, this period has already been well covered by the late Admiral N. Macleod's *De Oost Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie* (2 vols., and atlas, Rijswijk, 1927, reviewed in the *M.M.*, Vol. XIV (1928), pp. 291–94), as that Dutch naval historian relied chiefly on the official despatches which are printed or abridged in this work. Nevertheless, the reader will find here some more details about the naval warfare with the English and the Portuguese; the functioning and availability of the Company's shipping;

he treatment (or mistreatment) of sailors ashore and afloat; and the death-rate on outward-bound East Indiamen. Macleod's work ended with the year 1652, and the present series will gain in maritime interest when it passes that date—perhaps in the next volume.

C. R. BOXER

A Biography of the Sea. By Richard Carrington. Chatto and Windus. 9 × 5½ *inches; 286 pages; half-tone illustrations; drawings; maps; bibliography; index.* Price 30*s.* net.

For a book of comparatively modest length, this is extremely comprehensive. Mr Carrington divides his subject into: The World Ocean; The Life of the Sea; and Man and the Sea. In the first part he is general; in the second he is largely biological and historical; in the third he is concerned with man's slowly increasing knowledge of the greater ocean depths, and in the service which the sea gives to man, particularly in respect of food, while his final chapter—one of the best—called 'The Sea and the Spirit of Man', attempts to describe the impact of the sea on man's consciousness, and its effect on the creation of legend.

A work of such vast sweep is bound to have limitations. Its test is how high is its general interest for the layman, and here, clarity of presentation is everything. Mr Carrington is an expert and successful popularizer. He is not afraid of reducing great subjects to manageable proportions —his *Guide to Earth History* was proof of that—and he has once again succeeded in telling a story well whose compass is, in his own words: 'the world ocean, its animal and plant populations, and its influence on human history'.

OLIVER WARNER

Last of the Sailormen. By Bob Roberts. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1960. 8¾ × 5¾ *inches; 137 pages.* Price 20*s.* net.

There are several very good books on the London River sailing barge, but there is plenty of room for more, providing the standard of the previous volumes is kept up, and that is certainly done by the *Last of the Sailormen*. Mr Roberts is that *rara avis*, a practical man, who can put his practical knowledge down on paper in such a way that a reader knowing nothing of the subject can understand what it is all about and that is not as easy a thing to do as it may sound. The author does not go into details of the rig of his vessels or give much general detail of them at all, but contents himself with describing what they can do and have done on various passages he has made and under what circumstances. He tells of the difficulties that may be encountered going from London to Yarmouth and other ports on the East Coast and the way that he himself has got over them when he has personally met them.

As always when reading a book by a real sailor one is struck by the calm resourceful way he meets the many dangers that a sailing vessel must not only expect but does actually come across on nine passages out of ten. Another point that the sailor always shows most plainly, is his genuine love for his ship and his pride in her whatever she may be, and finally his eagerness to test her against another vessel. Mr Roberts has written of several unofficial races he has had with other barges and tells how his mate and third hand, when he had one, have given up their watch below quite voluntarily so that their vessel should have every chance of beating their rival. The book of course has to end on a sad note, the barges are practically finished, as everyone knows, and one of the chief reasons for this state of affairs is that the young men of today, with very few exceptions, will not go in a sailing barge, they must have an engined craft that will get them home at a stated hour.

It is a very great pity for, as Mr Roberts says in his last chapter, the kind of man who sailed in the barges was by the very nature of his work a 'strongly individualistic, bold, intelligent and independent' type of man. These qualities are not so likely to be found, at any rate to the same extent, in the motor-ship-trained seamen.

This book is worth reading if for no other reason than that it gives such a good picture of the men who sailed the London River barges. There are some good photographs and some very pleasant drawings and the book is well produced and printed in nice clear type. The only criticism is that a small general chart of the East Coast would have been a pleasant and useful addition to a very worthwhile and instructive work.

H. O. HILL

Four Centuries of Sea Plays (1550–1950): being a representative list of theatrical productions involving sailors, ships and the sea, arranged to illustrate the history of the nautical drama in Great Britain. Compiled by Davis D. and Lucille A. McElroy. For distribution by the Library of the British Drama League, Fitzroy Square, London. 65 *pages.* (Roneod). Price 5*s.* to non-members.

Some indication of the extent and value of this pioneer list, which is of the greatest interest to students of maritime literature, may be given by the fact that the authors classify over 1500 plays and dramatic representations, ranging from the reign of Edward VI to Elizabeth II. They also incude earlier references, necessarily incomplete.

Admiralty House: Whitehall. By Viscount Cilcennin. Country Life. 62 *pages; fully illustrated.* Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Lord Cilcennin, who was First Lord of the Admiralty 1951–56, has written a brief but pleasing history of Samuel Pepys Cockerell's Admiralty House, the temporary home of the Prime Minister, while 10 Downing Street is under repair. Good photographs enhance the value of the text, and these include views of the famous Dolphin furniture, made for Greenwich Hospital by William Collins of Tothill Fields.

OLIVER WARNER

De la Marina de Antaño: Notas para la Historia de Menorca (1769–1905). By Juan Llabres Bernal. Published by the author at Palma de Mallorca. 1955. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ *inches;* 150 *pages; numerous illustrations.*

This book is a collection of articles contributed to the Spanish Press by the author, and deals with the maritime history of the Island of Menorca during part of the eighteenth and all of the nineteenth centuries. It includes much interesting information about the second and third British occupations of Menorca, and also a great deal about Menorcan shipping and sailors, shipwrecks and so on. There is a very good article, with portrait, about Lord Collingwood of whom the author writes with admiration and respect, also there is the last page of the admiral's diary 1809–10, and an interesting account of a voyage in H.M.S. *Swiftsure* of the squadron commanded by Sir Horatio Nelson. The illustrations will be of very great interest to the ship lover and to the nautical historian.

Apuntes para la Historia Maritima de Ibiza. By Juan Llabres Bernal. Published by the author at Palma de Mallorca. 1958. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ *inches;* 263 *pages; numerous illustrations.*

This book, like the foregoing, is a collection of articles, and of other writings by the author, published in the Spanish Press. It deals largely with the story of the corsairs of Ibiza, and also of the deeds and doings of the mariners of the island in ships of war and of commerce, ancient and

modern, the world over. In some of the encounters with English corsairs and ships of war, the English definitely came off second best. But little heed is given in our history books to these minor engagements. Many of the illustrations are of great interest.

Aportación de los Españoles al Conocimiento de la Ciencia Nautica 1801–1950. By Juan Llabres Bernal. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ *inches;* 188 *pages; fully illustrated.*

This is the third of the books by St Llabres Bernal which have recently reached me.

It is a biographical dictionary of all the Spaniards, both naval officers and civilians, who have contributed largely to our knowledge of navigation, nautical astronomy, marine surveying, and kindred subjects during the last one hundred and fifty years. It is a book of reference pure and simple, and a valuable one to those interested.

A. MACDERMOTT

Cherish the Sea. A History of Sail. By Jean de la Verende. Translated from the French by Mervyn Savill. London: Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd. 1955. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ *inches; illustrated with* 14 *plates and* 170 *drawings.* Price 30*s.* net.

It is with diffidence that one attempts to comment on a work on the scale of this book, which comprises 337 pages of text and illustrations. It is the work of an enthusiast with pen and pencil and its author succeeds in conveying some of his spirit to the reader, but before long one's note sheet is black with comments, which are stimulated not only by the author's own statements and his way of making them but also, it seems likely, by the way he has been translated. What, for instance, does this mean?

'Higher still up the coast appears the catamaran, well known in Europe for its buoyancy. This is an intelligent raft capable of going anywhere because it is manned by Lascars, who are such good sailors that their name has become a household word. Everyone knows what the term "a tough Lascar" implies.'

Or this:

'The schooner has two masts, each carrying a spanker, the after sail being the larger. Then, above these huge, hempen trapezoids were two topsails which ensured the best use of a stern wind and made it manoeuverable. Several staysails round off this high quality ship.'

The author here is writing of schooner in general and not of a particular ship. Incidentally in the glossary at the end of the book 'Spanker' is defined as, 'The gaff sail set in the stern of a square rigged ship'.

There is no mention in this long book of the development of the schooner of its having more than two masts. The only Arab craft mentioned as being in the Indian Ocean are the *sambuk* and the *baggala,* which are both said to be fishing boats. The *sambuk* has a pink stern and the *baggala* is rigged with lugsails. The planks of all these boats are still sewn together, at least, that is what I take the following to mean: 'For the first time we find here real seams and the word looses its symbolical meaning. The carpenters of the north solved in this way the problem of the continuity of the planking and its different strakes, and in the Arab ships we see the hull planking joined by cross-whipping.'

The topgallant sail, described as a 'charming invention' first appeared, it is implied, in the later steel four-masted barques. There is a Mr Ericksen, a Finnish shipbuilder, who, 'for personal reasons' has collected a floating museum consisting of a 'flock' of fourmasted barques. The author says in the general context of a discussion of the *Gokstad* and *Oseberg* ships that 'The planking below the waterline is not nailed'. Sutton Hoo is placed 'near York' and its ship, treated of in the chapter on 'The Vikings', is described as 'an almost intact serpent ship'.

I have picked out from this very long book a few of the points which Members of the Societ for Nautical Research may find controversial. The book is written in a very personal style whic makes it difficult at times to distinguish between what the author feels and what he knows. Th difficulty is increased by the scarcity of text references, the complete absence of footnotes an the fact that there is no bibliography. Almost incredibly in a book of this kind there is no inde

BASIL GREENHIL

OBITUARY

CAPITAINE DE CORVETTE DE RESERVE LOUIS GUILLEUX

BELATED news has been received of the death in Paris o 29 January 1959 of our member Commandant Guilleux la Roëri he had been in ill health for a long time. He joined our Society i 1928 and was a regular contributor to this *Journal*, mainly in the Not and Answers sections, over the familiar initials 'G.R.'. He spoke and wrot fluent English, was fond of colloquialisms and always ready even to add t his vocabulary of slang. At the opening of the National Maritime Museu in April 1937 he was a welcome visitor. It appears that he adopted th pseudonym 'la Roërie' simply to cover his literary activities. He was bor at Segré (Maine et Loire) on 20 June 1886 and joined the French Navy i 1904, being mentioned in despatches for conspicuous bravery in Morocc in 1908, and awarded the Legion of Honour. At the early age of 26 h was naval technical adviser to the Peruvian government. Retiring fro the active list in 1920 he then began a distinguished career of journalism contributing to a host of French and foreign commercial, shipping an technical papers, and acting as Paris correspondent of *Lloyd's List* fo several years. He was a nephew of Pierre Loti. He was founder-membe and secretary-general of Les Amis du Musée de Marine, a Society nearl corresponding to our own. In 1930 he was co-author with Commandant J. Vivielle of a monumental work in two volumes entitled *Navires et Marins: de la Rame á l'Hélice*, and author also of an important paper in 193 *Histoire du Gouvernail*. Owing to a lack of sympathy with collaborationists he severed his connexion with certain French organizations in 1945. H will be sadly missed by many friends in this country.

H. P. MEA

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PLANS: Model-maker's Plans of the *Victory*, 10 plans on 3 sheets from those used in the restoration of 1923–35. (Price 21*s.*)

Enquiries for any of these should be addressed to The Hon. Secretary, Society for Nautical Research, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, S.E. 10.

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